Toda AW 60

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[For a book review of 13: Peter, see 26: Berreman, AJl Tibet, category 116.]

773 776 Konto or Konteu is the *nòdrodchi* of the Panol, and lives on the hill Konto, to which fire is set by the *palol* of the Kars or Pan *ti* (see Chap. XIII).

Kòdrtho is the *nòdrodchi* of Nidrsi. He played a part in the history of Kwoto, and according to some accounts he was the *mun*, or maternal uncle, of this god.

Near the source of the Paikara river, there is a cave in which there is a pool called Alvoi. Sometimes this pool gives forth a loud bubbling noise, and this is believed to be due to a *teu* dipping himself in the water. The name of the god is Alvoi Kalvoi, Kalvoi, situated at some distance from the pool, being a hill on which the god usually lives.

There are other gods about whose histories I have no information. Tiligush is the *nòdrodchi* of Päm and Karadr of Taradr. Pòrzo inhabits a hill near Nòdrs, and Karzo, a hill near Kars, and the names of other gods, such as Kaladrvan, Teikhun, Peigwa, Karmunteu, Kondilteu and Mundilteu, are mentioned in the prayers of the *ti* dairies.

114 177 776 In addition to these, who are certainly true Toda gods, the Todas also pay respect to the gods of the other tribes on the Nilgiris, while occasionally the names of Hindu gods are mentioned in their ceremonies. If a Toda be asked if he worships one of these gods, he will almost certainly assent, but at the same time he distinguishes them from his own gods. The only deity who seemed to be confused with their own gods by some of the Todas was Petkon, whose Badaga name was said to be Betakarasami. Breeks calls him Betikhan, and states that he is a hunting god; and according to some Todas Petkon was a son of Teikirzi.

Previous accounts of the Toda gods have been very erratic. Some writers have given the names of Hindu gods. Breeks gives the names of dairies as those of gods, though he also records abbreviated versions of several of the stories given in this chapter. The most curious account, however, of the Toda gods is that of Marshall, who gives[1] the following as the names of five gods which are muttered when milk is put on the sacred bells:—Ânmungâno, Godingâtho, Beligoshu, Ukulâria, and Kazudâva. We puzzled over these words for

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[1] P. 142.

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a long time, and could not discover the names of gods even remotely resembling them. Finally it became clear that the last was "*kars ud âva*" ("Give me one rupee"). Similarly there was little doubt that "Beligoshu, Dekulâria" stood for "*beli karsu tudkersia*" ("Will you not give me a silver coin?"), the Badaga equivalent of the last word being very much like Dekulâria. The first two names we could not identify with certainty, but the first is possibly "*en mûn gânei*" ("Do not see my face"), and the second is possibly the name of a Badaga buffalo-pen.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

THE TODAS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

THE people whose manners and customs I am about to describe live on the undulating plateau of the Nilgiri Hills in Southern India. The hills were visited by a Portuguese missionary in 1602, and have been invaded by Indian tribes on various occasions, but, at the beginning of the last century, the plateau and its inhabitants were absolutely unknown to Europeans. The earliest definite information about the hills at this time is given in a letter from William Keys, an assistant revenue surveyor, written in 1812, but it was not till several years later that further information about the people began to be published.

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Of the various tribes inhabiting the hills, the Todas excited the greatest interest, and this interest has continued, partly because the people are so different from any other of the races by which they are surrounded, but still more because both they and their customs are so picturesque and, in many ways, so unique.

A very large literature[1] has accumulated about the Todas and their customs. This literature is so extensive that when I determined to go to the Nilgiri Hills, I was reproached by more than one anthropologist for going to people about whom we already knew so much; and one even said that, so far as his department of knowledge was concerned, he was sure that we had all the information we could expect to get.

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[1] The bibliography of this literature is given in Appendix II.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

114 A review of the literature, however, showed me that there were certain subjects about which our information was of the scantiest. This was especially the case in matters connected with the social organisation. Little was known of the system of kinship, and it was not known whether there was any definite system of exogamy. The Todas furnish one of the best existing examples of the custom of polyandry, but scarcely anything was known about the various social regulations which must be associated with such a practice.

114 121 I had not worked long among the Todas before I discovered the existence of many customs and ceremonies previously undescribed, and I was able to obtain much more detailed accounts of others which had already been repeatedly recorded. I found that there was so much to be done that I gave up an intention of working with several different tribes, and devoted the whole of my time to the Todas.

This book is not intended to be a complete account of all that is known about the Toda people. Their physical anthropology has been so ably dealt with by Mr. Edgar Thurston that I leave this subject almost untouched, and I omit all but a brief mention of my own psychological observations which I have published in detail elsewhere.[1] The book deals almost exclusively with the religion and sociology of the people. Even here, however, the account will be far from complete. After several months' work among a people about whom "we knew all there was to be known," I came away knowing that there were subjects of which I had barely touched the fringe, and many others on which my information could have been made far more complete with greater opportunity. About certain subjects the Todas are extremely reticent, and my information is in consequence very defective. There are many points on which I know my information to be far from complete, and doubtless there are far more numerous examples of deficiency of which I am not aware.

123 Some deficiencies of the record are due to certain untoward events which occurred during my visit. After I had been working among the Todas for about four months, various misfortunes befell some of those who had

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[1] See *British Journal of Psychology*, 1905, vol. i., p. 321.

123 been my chief guides to Toda lore. One man who had pointed out to me certain sacred places fell ill and made up his mind that he was going to die. Another man lost his wife a few days after he had shown me the method of performing one of the most sacred of Toda ceremonies. A third man who had revealed to me the details of the ceremonial of the most sacred Toda dairy, suffered the loss of his own village dairy by fire.

The Todas consulted their diviners, who ascribed these events to the anger of the gods because their secrets had been revealed to the stranger. In consequence my sources of information ran dry to a large extent, and the difficulties in the way of the investigation of the more sacred topics were greatly increased. By the time it was settled that I was to blame I was nearly at the end of my visit, but it was in the last two or three weeks that I had hoped to overcome the scruples of the people and to obtain information on many doubtful points about which I had to come away unsatisfied.

114 173 538 796 One of the subjects on which my material is defective is the folk-lore. I have a number of tales, but they are only a small part of the store of Toda legend. I regret especially the incompleteness of my work in this respect because I believe that the Todas are rapidly forgetting their folk-tales and the legends of their gods, while their ceremonial remains to a large extent intact, and seems likely to continue so for some time.

I was especially struck by this because, in previous anthropological experience in the islands of Torres Straits with Dr. Haddon, we had found the exact opposite to be the case. In these islands, the ceremonial had disappeared, and the only record of it to be obtained was that derived from the memories of the oldest inhabitants. Nevertheless in Torres Straits the store of legend was still ample, and the agreement of the stories obtained from different individuals was so great that it was evident that the people had preserved their folklore with fidelity.

000 The difference between the two communities is easily explained. In Torres Straits missionary influence is strong, and missionary effort is always directed to break down the practices

124 made use of so much of his evidence as I believe to be trustworthy. His knowledge was not deep or accurate, but he often told me enough to enable me to extract the full account from others, who, seeing I knew something, thought they might as well tell me all. On one or two subjects, the whole of my information is derived from this man, but whenever this is the case I mention the fact, so that my readers may know the doubtful nature of the evidence. I only give such information, however, when I believe it to be correct. The informant in question was one of the cleverest of the Todas, and his usual fault was not that he deliberately deceived, but that he supplied the lacunæ in his knowledge by having recourse to his imagination. In the matter of folk-tales, where the difficulties of checking an account are especially great, I was obliged wholly to reject his assistance.

[115] An altogether different type of witness was my constant attendant, Kòdrner. His special business was to bring me people as the subjects for my psychological work and to act as my guide in visiting various parts of the hills. He did not profess to any wide knowledge of custom or ceremonial, and was always diffident about the information he gave; but he was a good observer, and could give an excellent account of any ceremony which he had witnessed or of any procedure in which he had been involved.

Except in a few cases the Todas were quite unable to give any explanations of their customs, the answer to nearly every inquiry being that the custom in question was ordained by the goddess Teikirzi. In the few cases in which an explanation was forthcoming, it seemed to me that it was usually a recent invention. The explanations of customs given in this book are therefore almost invariably those arrived at by myself from the study of the available evidence.

114 While I was working I had by me the books or
127 papers of Harkness, Marshall, Breeks, and Thurston, the
chief previous writers on the Todas, and I inquired into
most of the details mentioned by them; but I have not

114 127 attempted any criticism or comment on the work of others except on special occasions when my own information is lacking or when I am uncertain as to the truth of their statements. Except in those cases in which I definitely refer to the work of others, every statement made in this book is the outcome of my own inquiry or observation. Whenever my account differs from those of others, it may be accepted that I have inquired into the discrepancy and that my account represents the result of a careful investigation.

As some of the accounts of the Todas were written many years ago, there is always the possibility that two dissimilar accounts may both be true and that the differences may represent changes in custom with lapse of time. There is one fact, however, which makes it probable that this explanation of discrepancies is not the true one. The accounts of the Todas which show the closest correspondence with my own are some of the earliest, especially the book of Captain Harkness, published in 1832, and the papers of Bernhard Schmid and C. F. Muzzy, published in 1837 and 1844 respectively. In many cases my work agrees more closely with these than with the accounts of later observers.

114 177 192 This is, perhaps, a suitable place to mention what I believe to be the chief source of error in previous accounts of the Todas. In their extensive intercourse with the Badagas, the Todas use the language of this people, with which they appear to be perfectly familiar. The Toda language is very difficult to understand, and the literature shows that from the first, most of those who have investigated Toda customs have used the Badaga language or Tamil as their means of communication. Every Toda village, every Toda institution or office, and nearly every object used by the Todas has its Badaga name as well as its proper Toda name, and, owing to intercourse through the intermediation of the Badagas, these names have come to be used not only by nearly all who have written on the Todas, but also in official documents connected with the people.

103 114 191 The names by which the Toda villages are known to Europeans are always the Badaga names and not those of

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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the Todas, and similarly with the names of institutions such as clans, dairies, or ceremonies. The practice of giving Badaga names in their intercourse with Europeans has become so engrained that a Toda invariably uses these names when speaking to a European. During the first few weeks of my work, I received exclusively Badaga names, and to the end of my visit, whenever I visited a new district, the Badaga names would crop up till the people found that I wanted Toda and not Badaga. Kiunievan, who was the chief informant of Mr. Breeks in 1872, is still alive, and when I asked him why he gave Mr. Breeks the Badaga names in every case, he answered "He did not seem to want anything else," and this answer seems to me to give the clue to much of the error which has found its way into many of the accounts which have been given of the Todas.

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One of the most serious errors which has arisen in this way is one connected with the Toda clans. Every account which has been given of the clan-system of the Todas is that of a system which is current among the Badagas as the Toda system, but has only a limited correspondence with the actual system as it is in use among the Todas themselves. Every Toda, if asked by a European to what clan or division he belongs, will promptly give his division according to the Badaga classification, and this has led to the incorporation of this classification in all the accounts of the Todas which deal with their social organisation.

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Some words are necessary about the general plan of the book. I should have preferred to begin with the social organisation, and to approach the religious aspect of the life of the Todas through the ceremonies accompanying the chief incidents of life, including birth, marriage, and death. The ideas borrowed from the ritual of the dairy, however, so pervade the whole of Toda ceremonial, that I have been obliged to consider the ritual of the dairy at an early stage. After a preliminary chapter sketching the general character and life of the people, I have therefore given a full description of the elaborate ceremonial which centres round the dairy; and on this follow the accounts of other ceremonies and sacred institutions and a general discussion of the

234 552 The following are among the buffalo names of which I have records:—Kûdzi or Kûrsi, Kâsimi, Pän or Pern, Kiûd or Kiûdz, Enmon, Koisi, Keien, Ilsh or Idrsh, Kârsthum, Perûv or Perov, Kebân, Enmars, Persud, Nerûv, Kôzi, Perith, Pülkoth, Persuth, Tòthi, Kerâni, Keirev, Püthiov, Peires, Nersâdr, Tâlg, Ûf, Köji, Persv, Arvatz, Kòjiû, Pundrs, Purkîsi, and Òrsum.

234 552 778 Both Tartharol and Teivaliol have the same names for their buffaloes, and it seemed that a buffalo of any village herd might have the same name as one belonging to the *ti*. It is possible, however, that certain names may be restricted to the *ti* herds. I collected some names which occurred only in these herds, but I cannot say positively that they might not also be used for less sacred buffaloes.

Male buffaloes are unnamed and appear to have little or no sanctity even when born of cows of the most sacred herds. The greater number of male calves are either killed at *erkumptthtiti* ceremonies (Chap. XIII) or given away to the Kotas. A few are kept for breeding purposes, usually in the proportion of two to every hundred females.

232 234 778 There is a singular absence of care about the breeding of the buffaloes. The Todas have many herds of which every female has some degree of sacredness, and it might have been expected that the bulls of a sacred herd would have been carefully chosen from the male calves of that herd. So far as I could ascertain after repeated inquiries, there was no restriction of any kind in the mating of the sacred animals; a bull of the ordinary buffaloes (*putiir*) of a village might even mate with the highly sacred animals of a *ti* dairy. No importance seemed to be attached to the question of paternity among the buffaloes, and so far as I could ascertain the people were quite indifferent whether the male was related or unrelated to the female, whether of the same or of another herd.

114 234 I did not hear of the existence of any ceremonies connected with the chosen male buffaloes. Marshall states[1] that a bull new from one of the sacred *ti* herds undergoes a process of sanctification before he is permanently installed,

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[1] *A Phrenologist among the Todas*, 1873, p. 132.

by being isolated for a day and night in a small pen in the 114
sacred woods of the *ti*, during which time he is deprived of 234
food, though allowed access to water. Marshall also states that it is permissible to introduce a bull from an ordinary drove "after due sanctification." Though I failed to obtain definite confirmation of Marshall's statement, it is possible that something of the kind may at one time have taken place or may even still take place.

At the present time the buffaloes are tended entirely by 173
males, and males only are allowed to take any part either 234
in the work of the dairy or in those dairy operations which
are performed in the house. There is a tradition that at 462
one time women attended to the buffaloes at the time of calving, and one incident is recorded in which women performed Cæsarian section on a dying buffalo (p. 78), but this custom has now long ceased to be followed.

The first buffaloes were created by one of the chief Toda 234
gods, Ön, and his wife. The buffaloes created by the male 773
deity were the progenitors of the sacred buffaloes, while the ordinary buffaloes or *putiir* are descended from those created by the wife. Certain other buffaloes are descended from ancestors created by other gods, but the account of their various creations may be deferred till the chapter containing the legends of the gods. I was told by some that the sacred buffaloes were descended from a sambhar deer, but it was later found that this was only believed to be true of one special group of buffaloes belonging to one clan.

DAIRY PROCEDURE

The general plan of the dairy procedure is the same in all 234
dairies, the difference between different dairies lying chiefly 512
in certain formalities accompanying certain stages of the procedure.

The day's operations begin with the churning of the milk drawn on the previous evening. The milk is poured from the milking-vessels into earthenware pots, and during the night it will have coagulated. The coagulated mass is first broken up by the churn; water and butter already made are added,

When Teitnir performed the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony for 234
my benefit, he did not succeed in getting the mother to suckle another calf and demanded 60 rupees[1] as compensation for the loss of milk which he would suffer till the buffalo had another calf. When he found that I had no intention of paying this sum, he adopted the second device just described, and this expedient was successful.

The *erkumptthpimi* ceremony was first mentioned by Hark- 114
ness (p. 139), who witnessed the sacrifice. The details of the 782
ceremony which he gives agree in general with those observed 796
by myself. He calls the sacrifice *"yerr-gompts."* A still more complete account which agrees closely with my own was given by Muzzy in 1844. Breeks mentions the ceremony, as is usual with him, under its Badaga name of *kona shastra*, and his account contains several features which disagree with those of Harkness, Muzzy, and myself.

I could obtain no satisfactory account of the origin of the 773
sacrifice. Teitnir gave me a circumstantial story of the way 782
in which Kwoto or Meilitars induced the gods to eat the flesh
of a male calf. Teitnir stated that when Kwoto was visiting 796
the gods in the form of a kite, and before he had tied down the sun (see p. 206), he killed a male calf with exactly the same ceremonial as that practised since, and taking some of the flesh threw it into the midst of the gods, saying, "I have brought the flesh; it is sacred flesh; I have partaken of it, and if your counsel is to be right, you must partake of it." At this the gods were very angry and blamed Kwoto, whereupon he said, "I am not blameworthy; if you blame a man who should not be blamed, why do you not eat flesh which should not be eaten?" Kwoto was then given the task of tying down the sun, and when he succeeded in doing this and had been acknowledged by the gods as their superior, the gods agreed to eat the flesh, and since that time the Todas have sacrificed a male calf, just as Kwoto did, and have eaten the flesh of the calf.

The truth of this account, given by Teitnir, was denied by every other Toda whom I questioned, and I have not therefore included it in the story of Kwoto given in Chap. IX, but

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[1] This estimate included the value of the calf four years hence!

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

621 627 778 According to other accounts the village of Kanòdrs[1] is also a *satimad*, and Todas of all clans may be brought there to make statements. It seems most probable that both places are *satimad*, but that the custom of using Kanòdrs as a touchstone of truth is now no longer followed, Kiudr only being used for this purpose. It will be remembered that both Kiudr and Kanòdrs have features of dairy ritual peculiar to themselves, and that in some respects there is a close resemblance between the ritual of the two places.

[114] In his book written in 1832,[2] Captain Harkness says that the Todas have a temple dedicated to Truth, but identifies this with a *ti* dairy (*teriri*). It is probable, however, that his statement was based on what he was told of the *satimad*, either of Kiudr or Kanòdrs.

THE DAIRY

234 621 778 788 As we have already seen, there is some doubt whether the reverence paid to a village is paid to the village as a whole or to the dairy. There is no doubt, however, that the dairy draws to itself most of the veneration which a village excites. Whenever a devout Toda visits a strange village, he goes to the dairy, and prostrating himself at its threshold, utters a prayer. My ordinary guide, Kòdrner, was not devout and did not pay this reverence, but his brother, Kutadri, was very scrupulous in performing these duties, especially when he went with me to the Kundahs. I could not obtain from him the prayer that he employed on these occasions.

The contents of the dairy are regarded as sacred, and, as we have seen, definite means are taken to prevent these objects from contamination by the gaze or touch of ordinary mortals. Of the objects kept in the dairy the bells are undoubtedly the most sacred. The most sacred of the vessels is the *mu*, which is not kept in the dairy but is buried in the buffalo-pen, and is only used on certain ceremonial occasions.

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[1] At this place there is now only a dairy.

[2] Pp. 18 and 67.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

This *mu* is closely associated with the general sanctity of the dairy. The prosperity of the dairy is dependent on its condition, and it would seem to have very much the same ideas attached to it as we meet in the life-token. It may also be regarded as the emblem of a dairy, and in the case of the funeral hut of Taradr, we have seen that a building becomes a dairy when a *mu* is placed in its inner room. 234 778

In his account of the Todas, Breeks identifies the special name of the dairy with that of the presiding god of the dairy or village. If he is right, it would seem to follow that the Todas personify the dairy in some degree. The use of the name of dairies in such a formula as that used at the end of the *irnörtiti* ceremony (see p. 303) might be regarded as evidence of this personification of the dairy. I do not believe, however, in this personification, and if the dairy has attained in some measure to the dignity of a god, there is no doubt that this god belongs to a category very different from that of the true Toda gods of the hill-tops. [114] ●

THE THRESHOLD

As we have just seen, a man in paying reverence to the dairy bows down and touches the threshold with his forehead, and the threshold also frequently plays a part in the dairy ceremonial. The dairyman bows down and touches the threshold of his dairy before entering upon his work, and this is also one of the acts performed on his entrance into office on ordination. 234 778 788

The Teivaliol at an ordination also sweep the threshold with the grass called *kakar*, and the same grass is used to sweep the threshold of the dairy by the young girl who performs this office on reaching the new village during the migration ceremony (see p. 128). In the *tuninörtiti* and *pilinörtiti* ceremonies the offering is laid on the threshold of the dairy, and in the ceremony of uncovering for the first time the face of a boy, the child is put down by his father so that his forehead touches the threshold.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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CHAPTER XX

GENEALOGIES AND POPULATION

THE preceding chapters have dealt with the ceremonies and religious aspect of the life of the Todas. This and succeeding chapters will deal with the social organisation and the more secular side of the life of the people. 114

The social organisation has been studied largely by means of the genealogical record which is given in Appendix V. Before going to India I had worked out the details of the system of kinship, of the regulation of marriage, and of the social organisation generally of two Papuan communities on the basis of the pedigrees preserved by those communities.

It is a familiar fact that, both in ancient writings and in the memories of peoples to whom writing is unknown, long lists of ancestors may be preserved, going back in some cases to mythical times. Among existing peoples good examples of such genealogies are found in Polynesia and Uganda, but such a genealogical record is of little value for the investigation of social organisation.

The records which I obtained in Torres Straits were of a different kind; they only extended back for three or four generations, but included all collateral lines, so that a man was able to tell me all the descendants of his great-grandfather or great-great-grandfather, and knew the descent of his mother, his father's mother, his mother's mother, and his wife as fully as that of his father. By this means I was able to collect[1] a record of the great majority of marriages which had taken place in the community for the last three or four

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[1] See *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, vol. v, p. 122.

● 114 generations, was able to work out the laws which had regu-
lated these marriages and to study in detail the system of
kinship.

124 On going to the Todas, one of my first objects was to dis-
cover if their pedigrees were preserved with the same com-
173 pleteness and fidelity as among the Papuans of Torres Straits.
601 It seemed at first as if I was to be disappointed. Those to
551 whom I first broached the subject professed not to know the
names of their own fathers and mothers. Some said they
784 had forgotten them, but their demeanour excited the sus-
picion that reticence, and not ignorance, was the cause of
the failure, and it soon became clear that this suspicion was
correct.

There was a taboo on the names of the dead, and especially on those of dead ancestors. No Toda liked to speak of the dead by name, but to utter the name of a dead elder relative was strictly forbidden, and to the end of my visit I never heard the name of a dead man from one of his descendants. Thus the last piece of genealogical information which I collected was that of the names of the father and mother of Kòdrner, my constant attendant. The fact that he was always with me had prevented my inquiries into his parentage.

Having discovered the cause of failure it soon became evident that the Todas preserved their pedigrees almost, if not quite, as fully as the natives of Torres Straits. As in the islands, certain men had especial reputations as repositories of genealogical lore, and I began my investigations with the aid of one of the most famous of these, Parkurs (8), an old man almost blind as the result of cataract and so feeble that he had to be carried when he came to see me. With his aid and that of many others I compiled the records given in Appendix V.

Throughout my visit, the collection of this genealogical material was regarded as something which should not be done. I never carried on this branch of my work during what I may call my public hours when I was visited by anyone who chose to come. At these times I sometimes obtained from a man the names of his wife and children, but always left any further inquiries till the time reserved for my investigations

accessory factor may have been the priestly functions of the 162
Teivaliol, which have probably tended to make them more
conservative. 184

Previous writers on the Todas have differed considerably in 847
their accounts of the method of infanticide, and I regret very much that I cannot contribute any facts towards the settlement of the question. The subject was one about which the Todas talked so unwillingly that I made no great endeavours to arrive at the truth. A method which has been commonly attributed to the Todas is that of placing the infant at the gate of the buffalo-pen before this is opened in the morning, the herd rushing out and trampling on the child. Another less likely method has been said to be that the infant is drowned in buffalo milk.

The most probable account is that given to Marshall[1] by 114
an aged Toda, who stated that the child is suffocated by an 847
old woman, who receives a fee of four annas, and that the
child is then buried, which, as we have seen, is the method 182
of disposing of the bodies of still-born children.

There is little reason to connect the practice of female infanticide among the Todas with any deficiency in the necessaries for existence. It seems clear that at one time the Todas supplemented their food of milk with berries, roots, &c., but it is improbable that they were ever in such straits for food that they would have resorted to infanticide on this account. Marshall's informant ascribed infanticide to the poverty of his people, but this was probably said in order to excuse the practice.

In an earlier part of this chapter we saw that there is 161
evidence of a former diminution of the Toda population. At 847
the same time we see that there is evidence of a diminution of the practice of female infanticide, which would, of course, tend to increase the population. It would thus seem that there have existed among the Todas, during the last fifty years, certain factors tending to diminish the population and one factor tending to increase it. We may conclude that, but for the diminution of infanticide, the falling off in numbers would have been greater, and that the tendency to increase which

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[1] Pp. 194-5.

588 A few days later the two husbands and the *mokhthodvaiol*
went to the woman's father and brothers (called collectively
616 *paiol*), and the *mokhthodvaiol* promised that he would give
837 the woman either a *keivali* (necklace) or a *sin* (gold earrings),
each worth about thirty rupees. [A poorer man might only give a *pulthi* (bracelet), worth about twelve rupees]. He also promised that he would give a three-year-old buffalo to the son of the woman, this being called *mokh ir kwadrti*, *i.e.*, "son buffalo he gives." After making these promises, the *mokhthodvaiol* performed the salutation of *kalmelpudithti* to all the *paiol*, *i.e.*, he bowed down before each, and placed his head beneath their feet.

[601] As we have seen earlier, not only are the relatives of the *sedvaitazmokh* called *paiol*, the term in use for the relatives of a real wife, but the father of the woman is called *mun* and her mother *mumi*, names which are also terms of blood-relationship.

[764] When a man or woman dies, the *mokhthodvaiol* of the woman and the *sedvaitazmokh* of the man have definitely assigned duties at the funeral ceremonies. Each wears a ring on the ring finger of the left hand and has to put various things with the left hand into the pocket of the *putkuli* of the dead person.[1]

● [114] The *mokhthoditi* institution was first described by Ward in 1821,[2] the man being called by Ward the *coombhal* (the *kumbliol*, cloak or blanket man). This is the Badaga name, and it has usually been adopted by those who have since referred to the institution.

[773] The custom is said to have originated with the god Kulinkars, who was the *mokhthodvaiol* of the goddess Nòtirzi, but I could obtain no details of the way in which the custom is supposed to have arisen.

588 The ceremonial connected with the process of becoming
a *mokhthodvaiol* is very much like that of the real marriage.
837 A garment is given or promised and the salutation of
kalmelpudithti is paid to the woman's relatives. The chief difference is that the gifts are more numerous

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[1] For a full account see p. 366.

[2] Grigg's *Nilgiri Manual*, Appendix, p. lxxiv.

192 and bows down with his head to the ground at its threshold,
593 and then goes to the huts, where he is greeted with the
577 appropriate greeting, but this differs in no way from the procedure
of a visitor to any *etudmad*.

114 Marshall in his book[1] on the Todas has suggested that the
existence of female succession among the buffaloes of the
234 Todas may be a relic of female descent among the people
611 themselves. He suggests that at one time the scheme of
descent and kinship was the same for the Todas and for their
842 buffaloes, and that with the introduction of polyandry there
came in inheritance through males among themselves, while
they continued to reckon the descent of the buffaloes in the
female line.

We have seen (see p. 471) that the method of reckoning descent among the buffaloes is due superficially to the absence of names for male buffaloes and more deeply to the lack of interest in paternity. Nevertheless, Marshall's suggestion, wild as it may seem, should not be utterly scouted. The Todas regard their buffaloes so much as fellow creatures that any of their ideas concerning the relations of their buffaloes to one another should not be without interest to the student of social regulations.

234 If one may speak of social organisation among buffaloes—
and in the case of the Toda herds we are justified in doing
611 so—we have a state of society in some ways analogous to that
842 which many sociologists suppose to have existed at one time
181 in the early stages of human society. We have various
groups of buffaloes, and each buffalo—certainly each female
buffalo—belongs to the same group as its mother. There is
complete promiscuity, and the buffalo belongs to its mother's
group because paternity is unknown or disregarded.

It is true that this condition is artificial, but it is this very artificiality which gives it its interest, for it shows that people like the Todas, whose whole lives are devoted to the buffalo, to whom the breeding of the buffalo should have the deepest interest, have allowed this state of things to come about. If they had attached importance to paternity nothing would have been easier than to regulate breeding, to record paternity,

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[1] P. 132.

one wife, and each house belongs to a family of this kind, 423
and is handed on to the children of the brothers. 595

If the brothers quarrel, the affair is settled by the *naim*, 578
and it is usually decided that one brother or more than one
of the brothers shall occupy the house for a certain period, 627
usually a year, and that at the end of this period he (or they)
shall move to another village, when another brother or brothers
will occupy the house.

Such disputes do not seem to be frequent, but one was in existence during my visit. The two younger of three brothers had taken a wife without the knowledge of the eldest. The latter did not approve of the choice, and wished his brothers to send the wife away, which they refused to do. As the dispute had not yet been settled, the eldest brother at the time of my visit was living in the house, while the other brothers were living at the village of their newly chosen wife.

If a family dies out, it seems that the house is not, as a 425
rule, taken on by another family. It falls into disuse, and 361
in time disappears. As a village may sometimes consist
of one house only, villages may disappear in this way, and 621
the ruins of some villages were pointed out to me which had
fallen into disuse owing to the dying out of the families which
formerly occupied them. A really important village, *i.e.*, one
with an important dairy, would of course never disappear in
this way, but it is possible that the reason why some villages,
such as Nasmiòdr and Kanòdrs, now consist of a dairy only,
is that the families which possessed the houses at these
villages became extinct. I do not, however, know positively
that a house at such an important village may not, in some
cases, be taken over by another family.

Breeks has stated that the Toda custom is that the house [114 ●
shall pass to the youngest son. It seems quite clear that this 428]
is wrong, and that this custom is absolutely unknown among
the Todas. It is, however, a Badaga custom, and among them 171
I was told that it is due to the fact that as the sons of a family
grow up and marry, they leave the house of the parents and
build houses elsewhere. It is the duty of the youngest son
to dwell with his parents and support them as long as they

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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CHAPTER XXV

LANGUAGE

121 My chief purpose in writing this chapter is to give information which, I hope, may increase the value of the linguistic material which is scattered throughout this book, and especially to describe some of the doubts and difficulties which I encountered in my attempts to reduce the Toda language to writing.

At the end of the chapter I give some new facts relating to the sacred and secret languages of the Todas, and I will begin with a brief sketch of the views commonly held on the linguistic position of the Toda language.

197 The Nilgiri Hills are situated at the point of junction of three of the chief linguistic districts of Southern India. In the country on the South and East, Tamil is spoken; on the West, the language is Malayalam, and the people of Mysore to the North speak chiefly Canarese. The Todas live at this meeting-place of three languages, but owing to their isolated position their language is not a blend of these, but has very definite and distinctive characters of its own, as might, indeed, be expected from the character of the people. The Badagas with whom the Todas have much intercourse speak a corrupt form of Canarese, and the Todas have undoubtedly borrowed many words from their language.

114 197 Previous writers have differed in their views on the special affinities of the Toda language. No one has now, I think, any doubt that the language is Dravidian. Bernhard Schmid,[1] who wrote in 1837, appears to me to have known more of

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[1] *Madras Journ. Lit. and Sci.*, 1837, vol. v. p. 155.

the true Toda language than anyone who has written since, 114 and he ascribed two-thirds of the Toda vocabulary to Tamil 197 and was unable to trace the remaining third to any other language. Caldwell[1] believed the language of the Todas to be most closely allied to Tamil. According to Pope[2] the language was originally old Canarese with the addition of a few Tamil forms, but he has included in his vocabulary words which have probably been borrowed from the Badagas.

The linguistic material which I have collected is far more extensive than that which was available at the time Pope wrote his sketch, and though the material is in one way less satisfactory since it has been collected after thirty more years of Toda intercourse with the outside world, it is in another way more satisfactory than any previous material in that by far the larger part of it is derived from the formulæ used in the religious ceremonies and in magic. It is, of course, well known that an ancient language may linger on in religious and magical formulæ long after it has disappeared from ordinary speech, and when I discovered how many of these formulæ were preserved by the Todas, I made a point of collecting as many as possible in the hope that they might preserve relics of the ancient speech of the Todas.

In collecting this material I suffered under grave disadvantages; 114 firstly in not being a phonologist, and secondly, 126 in my ignorance of any Dravidian language. I had had, however, a fairly large experience in taking down unwritten languages phonetically, and, whatever the errors into which I have fallen, I hope that they are consistent throughout my record. As a matter of fact, I find my spelling to be fairly constant, words taken down from different individuals and on different occasions being written in the same way.

From one point of view my ignorance of Dravidian languages is not an unmixed evil. When anyone hears a language which is allied to one he knows, it is almost impossible to avoid being influenced by this knowledge. This

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[1] *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, 2nd ed., London, 1875, p. 557.

[2] *Outlines of the Toda Grammar* appended to Marshall's *Phrenologist among the Todas*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

114 influence has not been escaped by some of those who have
126 previously recorded words from the Toda language. Thus in his *Comparative Dictionary of non-Aryan Languages of India and Higher Asia*,[1] Hunter gives two vocabularies from different sources which he calls Toḍuva and Toḍa, and from the differences between these he thought they might be different dialects. According to Breeks these differences are due to the fact that the compiler of one vocabulary paid exclusive attention to the sounds he heard, while the compiler of the other was influenced by his knowledge of the derivation of the words. I have very little doubt that many of those who have recorded Toda words have not written them down exactly as the Todas said them, but as they ought to have said them according to the usual rules of Dravidian pronunciation.

We find, in consequence, very great diversity in the spelling of Toda words, and when there is agreement, it is of very little value, for many of those who have written on the Todas have evidently adopted the spellings of previous writers, even when they quite misrepresent the real sounds.

197 Another difficulty which besets the investigation of the Toda language is the presence of dialectical differences even in the small community of only eight hundred people. Metz[2] noted such differences, and I found undoubted variations in the vocabularies of the two divisions of the Todas (see p. 687) and suspected variations in pronunciation.

194 Still another difficulty is the large use of sounds, chiefly *sh*, *ch*, and *th*,[3] euphonically inserted in words. Pope notes this as quite a Toda peculiarity, and it adds greatly to the formidable character of this language, though a word of the most appalling complexity may become quite simple when these euphonic (!) sounds are eliminated.

191 Another of the sources of discrepancies in Toda vocabu-
192 laries is the influence of the Badagas to which I have already referred. The Todas are a bilingual people speaking Badaga in their intercourse with other races and keeping Toda for

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[1] London, 1868.

[2] *Madras Journ. Lit. and Sci.*, 1857, N.S., vol. i. p. 104.

[3] These sounds have usually been omitted in the Toda words as written in this book.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
693

CHAPTER XXX

THE ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE TODAS

I HAVE now given the whole of the material which I have collected on the institutions of the Todas. In describing these institutions I have discussed various general problems suggested by their nature, but I have said little about the points of resemblance or difference between the customs of the Todas and those of other peoples either in India or elsewhere. It remains in this last chapter to see how far the evidence which I have given throws any light on the very difficult questions: Who are the Todas? How do they come to be living on the Nilgiri Hills? 114 175

The evidence which might be available for our inquiry is of three kinds: records of the Todas in the past, traditions preserved by the Todas, and, lastly, evidence derived from the comparative study of physical and psychical characters, language, beliefs, and institutions.

The evidence coming under the first two heads is of the scantiest. Our earliest record of the Todas is contained in a Portuguese manuscript now in the British Museum. It records the visit of a Portuguese priest named Finicio to the Nilgiri Hills in 1602. This manuscript was partially translated and published by Thomas Whitehouse in a book dealing with the Syrian church of Malabar, under the title "Lingerings of Light in a Dark Land." As the translation given by Whitehouse is incomplete, I had the manuscript retranslated, and it was then found that several interesting details had been omitted, and that there were several errors in the translation, The new translation is given on pp. 721-730.

114 The account given by Finicio is very superficial, being the 175 result of only two days' intercourse, but it is sufficient to show that there has probably been little change in the Todas and their surroundings in the three centuries which elapsed between his visit and mine. I have referred in the general body of the work to several of the points in which his account either corroborates or differs from my own. Perhaps the most important feature of his story is that it shows the relation between the Todas and Badagas three centuries ago to have been very much what it is at the present day, and shows clearly that this relation between the two tribes is of longer standing than has usually been supposed. Finicio's account is, however, so brief and superficial that it helps us little in our search for evidence on the evolution of Toda society. We know from it that the institution of the *ti* was in existence, and the scanty evidence goes to show that the life of the *palol* was much what it is now, but there is nothing to tell us whether the ritual had then reached the high pitch of development which it now shows, nothing to tell us whether since that time there has been development or degeneration.

From 1602 to 1812 we have, so far as I am aware, no record of the Todas. In the latter year William Keys, Assistant Revenue Surveyor, reported the existence of the Todas, or Thothavurs, and other tribes in a letter to the Collector of Coimbatore. His account gives little information about the Todas, except that they kept buffaloes and held it a sacred and inviolable custom to keep their heads uncovered. In 1819 "a Subscriber" wrote an account of the Nilgiri tribes which was published in the *Madras Courier*. Beyond a description of their appearance, the only information given about the Todas or Todevies is that it is against the custom to wear either turban or sandal, that they permit hair and beard to grow long, and that the Badagas pay a few handfuls of grain from each field as acknowledgment that they received their land from the Todas. In 1820 Lieutenant Macpherson reported the practices of polyandry and infanticide, and in the following year Captain B. S. Ward described the marriage customs more fully, and gave some account

of the dairies and priesthood. In 1826 the Rev. James 114
Hough addressed a number of letters to the Bengal Hurkaru, 175
giving an account of the Nilgiris and their inhabitants, and these letters were republished in a book in 1829. A more elaborate and most excellent account of the Todas was given by Captain Harkness in 1832, in a work entitled *A Description of a Singular Aboriginal Race Inhabiting the Summit of the Neilgherry Hills*, and since that time very many of those who have visited the Nilgiri Hills have had something to say about the Todas and their ways. As I have already pointed out, these records from the earlier part of last century differ but little from my own, and do not furnish us with any evidence that Toda customs underwent any great change during that century.

As regards the evidence from Toda tradition, we are in 173
no better case. Several writers have stated that the Todas
believe that they came to the Nilgiris from elsewhere, but 773
whenever I made any inquiries on this point I was assured that they had always been on the Nilgiri Hills, the first Toda having been created on the Kundahs in the manner already described.

It seems most probable that those who have ascribed such traditions to the Todas have been misled by the account of the Kamasòdrolam. These are the people who are believed to have been driven away from Kanòdrs by Kwoten (see p. 195). The Todas have a very sincere belief in the existence of these people, and when I showed one man the frontispiece in Marshall's book, representing a Toda village and its inhabitants, something unfamiliar in the arrangement of the scene made the man think that it must be a picture of the Kamasòdrolam. Any Toda who is asked whether there are other Todas and where they live will at once think of the Kamasòdrolam and will tell of these people, and the story might easily be mistaken for a tradition of their origin.

The Todas are also said to believe in their descent from Rāvan, and I was told by one man that they were descended from the Pandavas, but I have little doubt that such beliefs are only recent additions to their mythology.

In studying the origin and history of the Todas we have 173

PREFACE.

114 115 121 IN the course of a furlough I took in the year 1870 to the Madras sanatarium of Utacamand, in the Nilagiri mountains,[1] I heard much of an 'aboriginal race' living in the neighbourhood; which, infanticidal and polyandrous, was said to be fast dying out.

I had long been curious to understand the mysterious process by which, as appears inevitable, savage tribes melt away when forced into prolonged contact with a superior civilisation. But, ignorant of all the languages of South India, I should have relinquished attempt to study the Todas, had I not the great good fortune to make the acquaintance of the Reverend FRIEDRICH METZ, of the Basel Missionary Society, who had spent upwards of twenty years in labours amongst the primitive tribes forming the inhabitants of the Nilagiris; and who, in addition to being skilled in several Drâvidian dialects, was exceptionally practised in High Kanarese and Tamil. Above all, he was the only European able to speak the obscure Toda tongue.

Mr. METZ most readily agreed to co-operate with me in strict enquiry into the condition of the Todas, and

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[1] Commonly called 'Ootacamund, in the Nilgherry hills'; it being the peculiar Anglo-Indian custom to style all mountains, hills. Thus the Himalayas are only hills, whilst in England, Ben Nevis and Snowdon are mountains.

114 henceforth became my sole associate in all expeditions
115 amongst them—save one or two.

121 It is the more proper and just that I should in this place render Mr. Metz the warmest acknowledgment of the very disinterested and important share he had in the undertaking, that there is so little in what I have written in these pages to recall his name. It was not only that his knowledge of Toda dialect was invaluable for minute and truthful investigation, but the personal respect in which he was held by the people, and the confidence they placed in his fidelity to them, obtained for us a more friendly welcome and complete exposure of their minds than would have been accorded had we been mere strangers. I must state, however, that my friend is not, even in the slightest degree, responsible for any opinions I have expressed.

A small Vocabulary, compiled and carefully revised by Mr. Metz, will be found as the groundwork of the last Chapter. It may be said, more entirely to consist of actual Toda words than any other existing.

121 Our operations began with a census of a portion of
124 the tribe, combined with an examination of each of the families that came before us. But in proportion as our work advanced, so did interest in the subject develop, until the scheme was entertained of enlarging the topic from its original design, so as to embrace 'a study of the manners and customs of a primitive race of man.'

With this evolution grew also the desire so to describe what I had seen, as to enable readers who could never have an opportunity of witnessing life amongst

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

p. 240

NOTICE.

193 These outlines are the result of a good deal of personal intercourse with
114 the Tuḍas, during a residence of twelve years on the Nílagiris. With the kind assistance of the late lamented J. W. Breeks, Esq., the First Commissioner of the Nílagiris, the subject of the Tuḍa language was investigated a few years ago in connection with a small Archæological Society in Ootacamund. At the request of Colonel Marshall, I have put the results into this shape, to be printed in his work on the Tuḍas. I think that the facts of the language are here gathered together. It is becoming daily more difficult to ascertain what is originally Tuḍa and what is borrowed by that people from the later immigrants.

In one or two matters, I have ventured to differ from the Rev. Dr. Caldwell, whose Drávidian Grammar has invested such researches with a new interest. I advance my opinions with unfeigned diffidence. While agreeing in the main with that profound scholar, I yet think that the remarkable analogies between the Keltic and the Drávidian languages merit a more thorough investigation.

3; Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

539 white buffaloes, also a big bull and cow buffalo which disappeared again. Ēn took a
rib from the side of the Toda man holding the buffalo's tail, and made a woman, and
773 from these two came all the Todas. Ēn had a son Pauv. Pith, Ēn, and Pauv made
all the mands and *tiriaris.* They themselves became *Pálâls,* and built temples. When
a white buffalo died they buried it within a circle of stones now called *Āsáram.*

Pith and Ēn lived in Ēnnád Mand. A quarrel took place between them, and Ēn set fire to the temple wherein Pith slept. Pith flew out and went to *Ámunád.* Ēn and Pauv remained making *pújá** and building mands. Pauv milked the buffaloes morning and evening, and churned. He used to wear a ring, and one day seeing the reflection of the ring in water, and thinking the ring had fallen in, he went down into the water and never returned.

Ēn had "something like a feather." One day looking "into it" he saw Pauv grazing the buffaloes (that had been buried) in *Ámunád.* Ēn then told the Todas he must go to *Ámunád.* They said they would go also. Ēn said, "No, you must remain "here, I will go," and he took the white buffaloes and went away, leaving a tiger which he kept for a dog to look after the common buffaloes. The tiger did so for two or three years, till one day, when coming home with the buffaloes, he saw a cat catch a rat, and asked the cat for some of the flesh. The cat gave him some. He wanted more; when the cat said, "Can't you catch a buffalo and eat;" and showed him how. After this, the tiger daily eat a buffalo, and the Todas asking him where the missing buffaloes were, he said he did not know. Afterwards the Todas found him out and drove him away.

773 These stories may serve, I think, to explain the report of the Cattanars quoted
above. When I asked Kiniaven about Bidi or Vidhi, he at once said Pith, and told me
173 that Pith had formerly a temple, at which the Todas used to prostrate themselves, but
which had now fallen into disuse; an example of that decay of the Toda religion, of
771 which we find many traces.

If, as one of my informants stated, Pith's son Ēn was the father of the kite, the
● 114 story of the Trinity is explained.

As for the accounts of the flight from Mailapur, (St. Thomé), that, reading Buddhist or Jain for Christian, is the story of the Kurumbas. Very likely the Cattanars encountered both races. The Kurumbas do not now own to any traditions; but two centuries and a half ago, when the power of their kinsfolk of the plains had not long been destroyed, they may have retained some reminiscences of their former state.

The singularity of the Toda religion, and especially the absence of idols, has induced all sorts of theories as to their origin. Another tradition, mentioned by Mr. Whitehouse, is that they were Manichæans, an idea probably gathered from their reverence for sun and fire, and indifference to material objects and tokens of worship, and from their ascetic system, corresponding in many particulars with the ideal "elect" life of the Manichæans.

174 That the Todas ever were really either orthodox Christians or Manichæans, seems
771 improbable. Considering the anxiety always shown by Roman Catholic missionaries to
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* *Pújá,* worship.

174 discover and turn to account any resemblances, real or apparent, between the heathen
religions in possession, and that which they sought to introduce, the Cattanars may
771 be forgiven for their mistake; especially as in a different form, it has been repeated by
the modern writers who have enlarged on the simple virtues of the Todas, on their
777 desire for instruction, their freedom from idolatry, and consequent readiness to accept
Christianity, under the common delusion that the soil which has proved too sterile to
nurture a false religion, is the fittest for the reception of the true. Mr. Whitehouse's
manuscript shows that further inquiry did not confirm the tale of the Cattanars.
I know of no Christian remains of any sort on the Nīlagiris, nor can I find, in the
customs of the Hill tribes, anything that can reasonably be referred to a reminiscence of
Christianity. Mr. Metz derives Peranganād (Toda *Pirgár*) from Feringhi; but we have
no evidence, as to the origin or antiquity of the name, that can warrant us in attributing
it to the existence of ancient Christian settlements.*

771 If not Christian, however, the Toda religion is singular enough. Its trace of element worship, trace of ancestor worship, and strong pastoral colouring are almost Vedic; while the omission from their Pantheon of the regular gods of the plains, in any of their innumerable forms, indicates long isolation.

171 Some few of their customs resemble those of the various Kol tribes. The similarity in the funeral rites of the Ho and Mūndah Kols of Nagpore has already been noticed; the Larkā Kols have the same singular law of inheritance, by which the house becomes the property of the youngest son; they also offer a young buffalo once a year (like the Peikis); but it is to the well-known goddess Bhawāni; and they break a pot at funerals, their dead being sometimes burnt, sometimes buried.†

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114 * While these pages have been passing through the press, Mr. Whitehouse's interesting narrative of the Syrian Church of Malabar (Lingerings of Light in a Dark Land, being Researches into the past History and present Constitution of the Syrian Church of Malabar, by the Revd. Thomas Whitehouse, M.A.) has been published. In this work, page 183, the author expresses his decided opinion that "there is no reason whatever "to believe that the Todas of the Nilagiris were ever in any way associated with either the Christian or "Manichean settlers of the Low Country or of the Coast of Malabar, or had ever known anything of "Christianity, even so much as its external forms."—*Editor.*

† The following description of some of the Papuans applies word for word to the Todas:—

"Sie haben religiöse Gebräuche und Uebungen welche, mit einigen anderen Erscheinungen in ihrem Leben, "mit ihrem jetzigen Culturzustande ganz unvereinbar erscheinen, wenn man darin nicht die Spuren einer früher "höhern Bildung erkennen will."

"They have religious customs and practices, which, as well as some other circumstances in their life, seem "quite irreconcileable with their present state of civilization, unless we recognise in them the traces of a formerly "higher culture."—*Trench's Study of Words, page 22, note.*

It need hardly be said that it was not intended in this work to enter on the vexed question of the origin of civilization. The cases of the Todas and Kurumbas were considered on their own merits without bias in favour of any theories about Primeval man, and the evidence of their degradation is given for what it is worth. That such instances of decay exist can hardly be questioned; whether they are the rule or the exception will probably not be seen, if ever, determined. Meanwhile, to ascertain facts about the tribes in question seemed more germane to the matter than to discuss theories of civilization.—*Editor.*

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60Toda
AW60

ART. II.—THE ABORIGINAL TRIBES OF THE NILGIRI HILLS.*

By Major W. Ross King, F.R.G.S., F.S.A.S., etc.

121 THE tribes which I am about to describe are doubtless not altogether unknown by report to various members of this Society, and I do not claim for myself the credit of bringing forward many new facts concerning them. My simple object is to promote attention to the subject in hopes of ultimately eliciting some more certain information than we possess as to the origin of races whose early history is shrouded in mystery and doubt.

•114 All personal experiences, however slight, are of value as contributions to the general fund of information, and I have, there-

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* Read before the Anthropological Society of London, the 3rd May, 1870.

P. 18

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 Aw65 Toda Aw60
Badaga Aw50

fore, not hesitated to comply with the request made to me, that T 114 I would communicate such particulars concerning the hill-tribes of the Nilgiris as came under my own observation during a three years' sojourn on those hills, otherwise known as the Blue Mountains of the Deccan.

It is not necessary here to describe that well-known range T 131 further than to observe, for better understanding the situation of the tribes by whom it is inhabited, that it occupies a nearly isolated position, has a superficial extent calculated at between six and seven hundred square miles, and an extreme central altitude of 8,760 feet. T 133 Approaching them through the flat parched district of Coimbatoor, the great abruptness with which these mountains rise from the plain adds to their apparent height, and at a distance of many miles the grandeur of the lofty blue line elicits the admiration of the traveller. Arrived at the stifling village of Metapollium, at their base, and near the forest entrance of the ascent by the Coonoor Pass, gazing upwards on their hanging forests, rhododendron-sprinkled heights, and precipitous grey crags, towering almost perpendicularly to a height of 7,000 feet, one may fancy oneself enjoying a glimpse of another world. Notwithstanding the temptation which its lofty verdant summits must have offered to Europeans dwelling on the burning plains below, this range remained, chiefly on account of the then almost impenetrable belt of jungle, abounding in tigers and elephants, and surrounding its base on every side, unexplored till the year 1819, and it was not till two years later that any road was opened up to the summit.

Strange and unknown tribes were then found in possession of this favoured region, a region of green hills and sheltered hollows, of sparkling streams and tracts of primeval forest, with abundant vegetation and delightful climate. Todas and Khotas occupied T 101 the higher ranges, while Erulas and Kurumbas clustered here and there in the lower belts on the mountain sides.

These tribes I shall notice in order. Before, however, proceeding to do so, I may render my account plainer by briefly noticing another people who are located on the same ground, and in constant intercourse with the more immediate subjects of our notice, viz., the Vadacas or Badaghas, commonly called Burghers. B 177

Though generally classed among the hill-tribes, they have, 166 comparatively speaking, but recently come among them, having

5: Emeneau L-5 (1935-37) 1937 Toda

TODA MARRIAGE REGULATIONS AND TABOOS

By M. B. EMENEAU

114 121 IT IS many years now that the Todas of the Nilgiris in southern India have been known as a people of peculiar customs and it is thirty years since these peculiar customs were described with a wealth of detail by Rivers in his monumental volume.[1] Even now, however, much remains to be gleaned, and this paper attempts to supplement and correct Rivers' account of one important department of the life of the Todas, viz. the regulations concerning marriage and the taboos associated with these regulations.

616 618 A comprehensive account of the general framework of Toda organization is necessary, though it will be in part repetition of what is already well-known. The tribe has, first, two main divisions: toɪr*ðas* and töüviɭj.[2] For marriage purposes these divisions are endogamous. Each is subdivided into a number of divisions called mo*d* (the familiar mund is the Badaga form of the word). This word is used also to denote any of the small villages of a few huts in which the Todas live, any of the dairies which stand isolated from a village, including the most sacred of these dairies, the tiɪmo*d*, any of the funeral places, which usually are free of buildings, in fact any spot which at any time is the scene of Toda activities. But mo*d*oɪɭ, "man (or, people) of the mo*d*" is used only of the members of a mo*d* in its widest sense, that of a subdivision of the people, and in this paper mo*d* will be used only in this sense. The toɪr*ðas* are reckoned to have ten mo*d*, the töüviɭj five. These divisions are exogamous. 618 842 Membership in a mo*d* is determined by legal paternity; a man belongs to the mo*d* of his "father," as does a woman until her marriage. The "father" is the man who has last given the bow to the mother of the child in the ceremony called pɯɪ*s*ɯɪṭt, "act of giving bow."[3] Physical paternity does not count at all for legal purposes, as Rivers has clearly stated. The legal father then is the legal husband of the child's mother, and the husband must be of a different mo*d* from that to which his wife belonged by birth.

582 601 618 Further, a man cannot marry a woman if the two are poɭjoɪɭ. Membership in a group of people known as poɭjoɪɭ is determined by descent in the female line. The female members of the poɭjoɪɭ to whom a man belongs are in his own generation his sisters, the daughters of his mother's sisters, the

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[1] W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (London, 1906).

[2] For an explanation of the phonetic symbols employed see the final paragraph of the paper.

[3] See Rivers, pp. 319-23.

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Rivers' account of the general rule[6] is incomplete and in part incorrect. How this came about is of course not certain, but a guess may be hazarded on the cause. There is even now, when information is apparently more easily obtained on most subjects than it was thirty years ago, some reticence and embarrassment about the subject of po*ɭ*joɪ*ɭ*. It seems to be connected in part at least with the taboos that surround the relationship, perhaps more with the general air of indecency and ridicule with which the Todas approach the subject. This will be made clear when an account is given of the names of the divisions and the stories behind them. At the moment it is necessary to criticize Rivers' account. He interprets the term po*ɭ*joɪ*ɭ* (his pũliol) as including both sets of prohibited affinities. This, being quite contrary to Toda usage, explains the impression he records that "it came almost as a new idea to some of the Todas that his pũliol included all the people of his own clan" (i.e. mo*d*). It was a new and wholly erroneous idea. The list of pũliol which he gives is in part a mixture of two sets of relationships, in part incorrect, and as a whole incomplete. A man may not marry the daughters of his father's brothers (Rivers' heading i) or the sisters of his father (heading iii), since they are ŧɯ*d*mortkvæɪdvoj. The daughters of his mother's sisters (heading ii) and the daughters of his sisters (heading iii) are forbidden, since they are po*ɭ*joɪ*ɭ*. His fourth head, the daughters of the sisters of his father's father, gave him trouble because of the two cases of marriages to such persons found in the genealogies.[7] The truth is that such marriages are not forbidden. The sisters of a man's paternal grandfather are not po*ɭ*joɪ*ɭ* to him, but ŧɯ*d*mortkvæɪdvoj; they cannot have married his ŧɯ*d*mortkvæɪdvoj, and their daughters will not be related to him in any prohibited way. The rule given[8] that a person must not marry the child of his motʃiŋj (matchuni, i.e. cross-cousin) is incorrect. His cross-cousin may have married a man of his own mo*d*, in which case the daughter will be forbidden to him. If she has married outside his mo*d*, there are no objections. Again, if a man's male motʃiŋj has married a woman who is po*ɭ*joɪ*ɭ* to the man's mother, the motʃiŋj's daughter will be forbidden to the man; otherwise, not. The case in the last paragraph on p. 511 of Rivers' work, that of a man marrying a daughter of his sister's daughter, is impossible, since she would be his po*ɭ*joɪ*ɭ*. The final case in this paragraph, the marriage of two brothers to the daughter of their sister's son, violated no rule; the disapproval that attended the marriage was undoubtedly due to the disproportion in age, not as such, but as depriving

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[6] Rivers, pp. 509–11.

[7] Rivers, p. 511.

[8] Rivers, p. 511 *mod.* and again p. 513.

5; Emeneau L-5 (1935-37) 1937 Toda

582 some young man of an opportunity to marry, a consideration which must
601 always have some weight in a community as small as that of the Todas.
618 It should be remarked further that relations of poɬjoːɬ are extremely hard
114 to trace in Rivers' genealogical tables. This is partly due to the intrinsic difficulty of using for this purpose a set of tables constructed for another purpose, partly to the fact that there are many inaccuracies of detail in the assignment of children both to fathers and to mothers. To set all right two sets of tables should be constructed, one for each kind of relationship: whether any useful purpose would be served by the task may be considered doubtful.

196 A note on the semantics of the word poɬjoːɬ may be given here. It means "man (or person, or people) of the poɬj." The most usual meaning of poɬj is "sacred dairy," a meaning which will not explain our word. Another meaning is found, viz. "Badaga house" (the Toda house is called *aːs*). A sentence such as the following no doubt gives the clue: emelom ŭɯ*d*-voɬjoːɬoːvemi, "we all are persons of the same (ŭɯ*d*) poɬj (i.e. poɬjoːɬ)." It is quite obvious that our word is based on an obsolete meaning "house," the members of which, a man, his mother, his sisters, form the nucleus of the whole poɬjoːɬ institution. The semantic development of poɬj should be stated then in the following order: first, "house;" second, "dairy." The second meaning then drove out, for reasons at present unexplainable, the first except in the application to the houses of the Badagas and in the compound poɬjoːɬ and sentences like the one given above, which are rather based on the old first meaning of the word then reformed on the basis of the word poɬjoːɬ. That this interpretation of the Toda words is correct is seen from the Tamil cognate paɭɭi, "building, temple."

613 As was said above, there are at present five sets of poɬjoːɬ among the
539 toːrθas. Another has in recent years become extinct by the death of its last female member, sinɯl of the kerɯroːɬ (found in Rivers' Table 28 as Sinul). Of the remaining ones the names and stories are as follows. The kŭa*t*æːnboɬjoːɬ or oːrvɯʈɣaːkvoɬjoːɬ is said to be descended from kŭa*t*æːn (Rivers' Kwoten). Of him it is told that his spiritual power was so great that he lit fire on the surface of a stream; his poɬjoːɬ make fire by friction with great ease. The other name is based on a story that one man of the line bought for six rupees six (oːr) cakes made with chillies (the cake is called pɯʈ). A crow (kaːk) carried one off, and the man, leaving the others behind, chased the crow, whereupon crows carried off all the other cakes. This story like most of the others to follow ridicules the stupidity of the members of the line. Another is called moɣðɯtkoːtʃvoʃvoɬjoːɬ, "people of the house of one who heated the child at the fire." The story goes that in

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Enquiry into the details of the moγδoɪţjt institution (called by Rivers mokhthoditi)[11] supplements Rivers' account in some important details. For all legal purposes, i.e. membership of mo*d* and the consequent relations to the tribe as a whole, Rivers is correct. Children of these unions are legally children of the man who has given the bow to the mother. In investigating restrictions on the freedom to form these unions it was found that there are two classes of union. In one the man who takes the woman gives only a cloak (puɪtγu*l*j). Children of this type of union and the man's legal children may form moγδoɪţjt unions without any restrictions, except that such a union may not be formed while the parents are still living together in a union of this kind. When the union in the earlier generation ceases, a union in the next generation may be formed.

In the other class of union the man gives to the woman jewelry and makes to her male relatives the koɪlmilvɯɖθt salutation ("act of falling on leg," i.e. kneeling and putting to one's head the other's feet in turn; of the one who raises his feet it is said, koɪlγoɪţj–, "leg-show"). Children of the union are then in the same relation to the man's legal children as if they were ŭɯ*d*mortkvæɪdvoj, and the same rules hold for unions between them and between their descendants as for unions between ŭɯ*d*mortkvæɪdvoj and their descendants. For example, a half-brother and a half-sister may not form the union; their children may form the union, for they are pseudo-motʃiŋj. Children of half-brothers may not form the union, but their children may. Rivers[12] mentions the union of kŭɯɪsi*aƚf* of the töŭviƚj with piƚj-murγ of the toɪr*δas*. He insisted on giving ter for her[13] as if she could be his legal wife, and lived with her for many years (which is unusual in these unions), having by her four children, who were regarded by everyone as his own except that they belong legally to the toɪr*δas*. This seems to have been the first case in which ter was given in one of these unions, and there have been some later imitations of the precedent. This type of union is merely an extension of the type in which the koɪlmilvɯɖθt salutation is performed, and the regulations governing unions of the descendants are the same.

The taboos described above operate also between all those who are in a pseudo-relation of ŭɯ*d*mortkvæɪdvoj because of a moγδoɪţjt union. In the first type of union they cease to operate when the union is dissolved, in the second they are permanent in their operation, just as is the prohibition against further unions.

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[11] Described in Rivers, pp. 526–29.

[12] Page 534 *med.*

[13] See Rivers, pp. 523–25.

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000 given a prominent place to industry in their schemes of progress and reform. Organisations for the purpose of educating the members of the community on the importance of increased industrial efforts have been formed. The success which has attended the Industrial Exhibition conducted by the members of the community at Quilon, in 1905, has induced them to make it a permanent annual event. Some of their young men have been sent to Japan to study certain industries, and, on their return, they hope to resuscitate the dying local industries, and to enter into fresh fields of industry awaiting development. Factories for the manufacture of coir matting and allied articles have been established by the Tiyas in some parts of Travancore and Cochin."

In 1906, the foundation stone of a Tiya temple at Tellicherry was laid with great ceremony. In the following year, a very successful Industrial Exhibition was held at Cannanore under the auspices of the Sri Narayan Dharma Paripalana Yogam. Still more recently, it was resolved to collect subscriptions for the establishment of a hostel for the use of Tiya youths who come from other places to Tellicherry for educational purposes.

Tiyōro.—The Tiyōros are described, in the Madras Census Report, 1901, as "Oriya fishermen, who also make lotus-leaf platters. They have four endogamous sections, viz., Torai, Ghodai, Artia, and Kulodondia." It has been suggested that the caste name is a corruption of the Sanskrit tivara, a hunter. (*See* Risley, Tribes and Castes of Bengal, Tiyar.)

● 114 [113] **Toda.**—Quite recently, my friend Dr. W. H. Rivers, as the result of a prolonged stay on the Nilgiris, has published * an exhaustive account of the sociology and

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* The Todas, 1906.

religion of this exceptionally interesting tribe, number- 114
ing, according to the latest census returns, 807 [161]
individuals, which inhabits the Nilgiri plateau. I shall,
therefore, content myself with recording the rambling
notes made by myself during occasional visits to Oota-
camund and Paikâra, supplemented by extracts from the
book just referred to, and the writings of Harkness and [127]
other pioneers of the Nilgiris.

The Todas maintain a large-horned race of semi- 233
domesticated buffaloes, on whose milk and its products 234
(butter and ney)* they still depend largely, though to a [443]
less extent than in bygone days before the establishment [178]
of the Ootacamund bazar, for existence. It has been
said that "a Toda's worldly wealth is judged by the 556
number of buffaloes he owns. Witness the story in 233
connection with the recent visit to India of His Royal
Highness the Prince of Wales. A clergyman, who
has done mission work among the Todas, generally
illustrates Bible tales through the medium of a magic-
lantern. One chilly afternoon, the Todas declined to
come out of their huts. Thinking they required
humouring like children, the reverend gentleman threw
on the screen a picture of the Prince of Wales, explaining
the object of his tour, and, thinking to impress the
Todas, added 'The Prince is exceedingly wealthy, and
is bringing out a retinue of two hundred people.' 'Yes,
yes,' said an old man, wagging his head sagely, 'but how
many buffaloes is he bringing?"

The Todas lead for the most part a simple pastoral 648
life. But I have met with more than one man who had 464
served, or who was still serving Government in the [181]
modest capacity of a forest guard, and I have heard of [233]

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* Ney = ghi or clarified butter.

648 others who had been employed, not with conspicuous
464 success, on planters' estates. The Todas consider it
461 beneath their dignity to cultivate land. A former
[241] Collector of the Nilgiris granted them some acres of
land for the cultivation of potatoes, but they leased the
land to the Badagas, and the privilege was cancelled.
In connection with the Todas' objection to work, it is
recorded that when, on one occasion, a mistake about
the ownership of some buffaloes committed an old Toda
to jail, it was found impossible to induce him to work
with the convicts, and the authorities, unwilling to resort
to hard remedies, were compelled to save appearances
by making him an overseer. The daily life of a Toda
562 woman has been summed up as lounging about the mad
512 or mand (Toda settlement), buttering and curling her
hair, and cooking. The women have been described
[157] as free from the ungracious and menial-like timidity of
[171] the generality of the sex in the plains. When Europeans
177 (who are greeted as swâmi or god) come to a mand,
609 the women crawl out of their huts, and chant a monotonous
[735] song, all the time clamouring for tips (inâm). Even
the children are so trained that they clamour for money
till it is forthcoming. As a rule, the Todas have no
objection to Europeans entering into their huts, but on
more than one occasion I have been politely asked to
take my boots off before crawling in on the stomach, so
as not to desecrate the dwelling-place. Writing in 1868,
114 Dr. J. Shortt makes a sweeping statement that "most
177 of the women have been debauched by Europeans, who,
164 it is sad to observe, have introduced diseases to which
these innocent tribes were once strangers, and which are
slowly but no less surely sapping their once hardy and
vigorous constitutions. The effects of intemperance and
disease (syphilis) combined are becoming more and more

apparent in the shaken and decrepit appearance which 177
at the present day these tribes possess." Fact it 164
undoubtedly is, and proved both by hospital and naked- [114]
eye evidence, that syphilis has been introduced among
the Todas by contact with the outside world, and they
attribute the stunted growth of some members of the
rising generation, as compared with the splendid
physique of the lusty veterans, to the results thereof. It
is an oft-repeated statement that the women show an [834]
absence of any sense of decency in exposing their naked
persons in the presence of strangers. In connection 628
with the question of the morality of the Toda women, 577
Dr. Rivers writes that "the low sexual morality of the
Todas is not limited in its scope to the relations within
the Toda community. Conflicting views are held by
those who know the Nilgiri hills as to the relations of the
Todas with the other inhabitants, and especially with the
train of natives which the European immigration to the
hills has brought in its wake. The general opinion on
the hills is that, in this respect, the morality of the Todas
is as low as it well could be, but it is a question whether
this opinion is not too much based on the behaviour of
the inhabitants of one or two villages [*e.g.*, the one
commonly known as School or Sylk's mand] near the
European settlements, and I think it is probable that the
larger part of the Todas remain more uncontaminated
than is generally supposed."

I came across one Toda who, with several other 177
members of the tribe, was selected on account of fine
physique for exhibition at Barnum's show in Europe,
America and Australia some years ago, and still retained
a smattering of English, talking fondly of 'Shumbu' (the
elephant Jumbo). For some time after his return to
his hill abode, a tall white hat was the admiration of his [554]
fellow Tribesmen.

At four in the morning we wrap rice and grain in a white cloth, and burn it. 539
At eleven we cut the hair of the boys and girls.
At four in the morning the priest goes to the temple (dairy). 539 793
He lights the lamp.
At eight he milks his buffaloes.
He puts on no cloth.
He places butter and ghī before the god.
Then he grazes his buffaloes, and eats his food.
Then he puts on his cloth.
At three in the afternoon he goes again to the temple.
He kindles a fire, and lights the lamp.
He puts milk in a chatty, and churns it into butter with a cane.
He mixes water with the butter-milk, and gives it to the women to drink.
He alone may sleep in the temple.
At four in the morning he lets out the buffaloes to graze.
At seven he milks them.
The woman's house is down the hill.
The priest must not go in unto the woman.
He may not marry.
When he is twenty, he may not enter the temple.
Another is made priest in his stead.

The religious institutions of the Todas, including the 771 114
elaborate dairy ritual, and their religion, are described
in full detail by Dr. Rivers. The Todas have been to 771
some extent influenced by Hinduism, and some visit the 177
temples at Nanjengōd in Mysore, Karamadai in the 788
Coimbatore district, and other shrines, whereat they
worship, present votive offerings, and pray for offspring,
etc.

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§6. Most frequently some modification is made in the name. Often this is done to avoid a personal name that is in use simultaneously or that has been used in a previous generation. See e.g. tæɪθj in §12 and ṭæɪθjxæɪn, the name of his great-grandson explained in §16. tɯɪpɯɪsxũɯɪṭṇ, son of tæɪpɑx (20, Teipakh), and tɯɪfnɯɪs (25, Tiveners) are both called after the kogfoɬj dairy at the mund toɪroɪṛ, which is named tɯɪpɯɪsforũ. In the case of one man pɑnɯɪs (23, Paners), I was told that his real name is koɪnɯɪs, which is the first kũɑsm of the mund pɑʃtɑɪr of the toɪroɪṛoɪɬ, but that a real kũɑsm of a mund cannot be used in addressing a man for fear he may suffer misfortune or die. The name pɑnɯɪs is based on the second kũɑsm of this mund, pɑɪngub, with unusual changes. This explanation may be correct, but two men of this same sib are called by the unchanged kũɑsm of two munds which were abandoned so long ago that the real names are not remembered, viz. öɪkjɑɬf (24, Irkiolv) after the kũɑsm öɪṛṇɯɪs, öɪkjɑɬf, and oɪxũɯɪḷṇ (24, Orguln) after the kũɑsm oɪṛṇɯɪs, oɪxũɯɪḷṇ; the kũɑsm are remembered from their use in the prayer of the calf-sacrifice of this sib. That we are not

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dealing in these two cases with munds whose gods are regarded as no longer existent is clear, for kiɪṛṇɯɪs of the niṛjoɪɬ (43, Kidrners) derives his name from the unchanged second kũɑsm of the mund niṛj, and oṛjxɑɪs of the möɪṛoɪɬ (16, Odikars) from the unchanged second kũɑsm of the mund pɑn. In fact, so long as an abandoned mund is remembered at all, it may be reoccupied, and it seems clear that the Todas do not believe that the god vanishes when a mund is abandoned.

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§7. Modification follows a number of patterns, some of them not always clear. If a place-name is being adapted, such suffixes or second members of compounds which characterize the locality are frequently dropped entirely or replaced by others. E.g. töũmod (24, Teimad) < a valley (pɑɬ) called töũmodfoɬ. mɑgoj (24, Mogal) < mɑgojnæɪs "cubit (mɑgoj)-shade (næɪs)," a shady place at the male funeral-place tyɬtɑũɯɪ of his sib.[6] kɑkɑɪr (20, Kakar) < kɑkɑɪrxũɯt, an open place in the middle of thickets (kũɯt) near the mund toɪroɪṛ. See also kæɪn in §16. If another suffix is used, it sometimes is one that is appropriate to the locality, as in kiθjmuṛj (20, Kidimudri) < kiθjmɯn, a mountain; mɯn is the peak of a hill and muṛj may have the same meaning, though it denotes most generally the top of anything which is shaped well, e.g. a conical dairy, a gracefully spreading tree, a man's hair cut in the style peculiar to the Todas. It is probably substituted here because of this emotive connotation.

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[6] Rivers (p. 623) supposed wrongly that this man was named "from the language of everyday life." His name is undoubtedly the same as the common noun in phonetics, but derived as it is by curtailment of a place-name associated with the sib, its connotations are very different from those of the common noun.

193 551 §9. The frequent suffix -küɯʈɳ has defied analysis. Rivers[8] thought that it was connected with the word for "horn," but the difference in the quantity of the diphthongs makes it unlikely, and my informants refuse to recognize any connexion between the two. It may be added to a word, as in pɯtʃofxüɯʈɳ (a son of sirjaɪr 20)<pɯtʃof, a mountain near the mund toɪroɪr, or it may be substituted for another suffix, as in tɯɪpɯɪsxüɯʈɳ (20; referred in §6)<tɯɪpɯɪsforü, the kogfoɭj dairy at toɪroɪr; kæɪnxüɯʈɳ, son of toɪliθj and nertnɯɪs (24, Tòleidi and Nertiners)<kæɪnalf, the üɯɪsoɭj dairy at the mund karkos. A son of küaɾoɪn of the pɯɪrgoɪɾoɭ (34, Kwodron) is named asojxüɯʈɳ<asojɯɪr, the buffaloes of the tiɪ of this sib. [177] köɪkisjxüɯʈɳ (20, Kekarikutan, which represents the Toda form of the Badaga name of another man kekæɪrjxüɯʈɳ in table 25)<köɪkisjxuɖd, the name of buffalo-track (kuɖd) leading to the mund toɪroɪr.

§10. Another frequent suffixal element is -fɯn; e.g. in karoɾfɯn (21, Karadrvan)<karoɾθɯʈ, name of a mountain (tɯʈ) near toɪroɪr; ɯɾküɯɪɾfɯn (24, Idrkudrvan)<ɯɾküɯɪɾfaɪɯ, a river (paɪɯ) near Mt. karoɾ; pɯtʃefɯn (24, Pachievan)<pɯtʃof, a mountain near toɪroɪr (cf. pɯtʃofxüɯʈɳ in §9); kergæɪrfɯn (25, Kerskedrvan)<kergæɪrfaɪɯ, a stream near the mund paʃtaɪr; asojfɯn<asojɯɪr, the buffaloes of the tiɪ belonging to the pɯɪrgoɪɾoɭ, is another name of poɪrɯʂ (35, Patirsh; cf. asojxüɯʈɳ in §9); mupuɪfɯn (16, Mopuvan)<mupuɪf, the conspicuous mountain, called Staircase by the English. This element may be added to [888] the name of any old man, apparently as a mark of respect, e.g. pæɪθoɪɭ or pæɪθoɪɭfɯn, kæɪnods or kæɪnodzfɯn; and many names which have this final element may also appear without it in familjar speech. Rivers was told that the suffix is the same as the word for the stone circles on the summits [114] of some hills, but the Toda word for these circles is mɯn, which cannot be connected with the suffix. The word pɯn, which is the only possibility, [192] means "gold, the gold bangle kept in a dairy; the privates of a small girl; afterwards" and none of these meanings seems to be appropriate, except possibly the first.[9]

[831 553] her by stealth; each will hide in the bushes and wait for her to come to him. It is undoubtedly the erotic language that suggests this second meaning. The phallic bearings of the passage are obvious.

Other passages which can be interpreted as containing sexual symbolism, either conscious or unconscious, will be available when my complete collection of song-texts is published.

[8] Rivers, *op. cit.*, p. 619.

831 192 [9] In case sexual symbolism should be looked for here, I observe that caution must be used. The three meanings given for pɯn belong to three South Dravidian words which have quite distinct phonetic forms in most of the other languages, and it may be found that the suffix -fɯn derives from still a fourth distinct phonetic entity. Until the historical grammar of Toda

THE CHRISTIAN TODAS *

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ABSTRACT

A description of the Christian Todas in their relations with the flourishing culture of the tribe. 000 They retain in the economic sphere a dependence on the tribal pastures, and show a tendency to retain the old type of economic partnership with individual Kotas. The converts retain their Toda names, even when these belong to the tribal religious sphere; in naming children born within the Christian community there is a tendency not to give Toda names. Cross-cousin marriage is followed when possible; disputes on matrimonial affairs follow tribal patterns. The tribal dance and song-technique are retained, and one Christian lyric of great beauty was recorded. The tribe treats the Christians as outsiders in general, but several links remain, notably in the meeting of obligations by both sides when marriages take place. There are attempts by the tribe to force the Christians to meet obligations on the occasion of tribal funerals; when they are met, it is generally due to compulsion. An attempt is made to evaluate the whole situation in terms of the attitudes of tribal members.

DURING a linguistic field-trip among the Todas of the Nilgiris in 797
South India, I came into contact also with the section of the tribe who 14
have become Christians. In fact, the two interpreters whom I used in [115]
my investigations into the Toda language were Christian Todas, since
it is only among these that any fluent knowledge of English is so far to [191]
be found. A number of interesting episodes of Christian Toda life came to light during the period of nearly three years in which I had intermittent contact with the two communities. It seems useful to collect these and to attempt an evaluation of the elements of the tribal culture which have survived among the Christians and of the relations between the tribal Todas and the Christians. The attempt is worthwhile since studies of Christianized communities which exist by the side of the parent communities with the original culture in full working-order are rare.

The only mission which has worked among the Todas in recent times 797
and made converts is the Church of England Zenana Mission Society. The work was begun in 1890 by Miss Catherine F. Ling [1] and seems to

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* This paper represents a small part of the work which I was enabled to do in South India [114]
with the aid of the American Council of Learned Societies in 1935–6 and of the American [128]
Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund) in 1936–8.

[1] Two small books by this lady describe her work: *Dawn in Toda Land* (3rd ed., Madras,
S. P. C. K. Press, 1919) and *Sunrise on the Nilgiris* (London, Zenith Press, ?1933). There is [113]
little of anthropological interest in these, which were of course written as descriptions of
missionary work; the resistance of the tribe however is well brought out and some of the ac- [114]
counts of converts' histories amount almost to life-histories such as anthropologists gather.

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TODA CULTURE THIRTY-FIVE YEARS AFTER: AN ACCULTURATION STUDY [1]

BY

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The Todas of the Nilgiri Hills in South India have long been 114 an object of interest to anthropologists. They became known to Europeans early in the 19th century when the hills were visited by Sullivan (1813), and since then they have been written about by many officials as well as by more casual visitors. Finally, in 1901-2 a close study was made of their institutions by W. H. R. Rivers, and his treatise *The Todas*, published in 1906, has been since then an anthropological classic, describing as it does a tribe of pastoralists with a culture very aberrant as compared with that of the rest of India. Centred upon the buffalo,

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[1] My work on the Todas was done with the aid of the American Council of Learned Societies in 1935-6 and of the American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund) in 1936-7. Dr. D. G. Mandelbaum has read over the paper and given me the benefit of his suggestions and criticisms. [122]

Bibliographical details of the publications referred to in the paper are: 113

W. H. R. Rive[illegible]*he Todas*; London, Macmillan and Co., 1906.

M. B. Emeneau, *The Songs of the Todas*, Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society 77. 543-560.

id., *Toda Garments and Embroidery*, Journal of the American Oriental Society 57. 277-289.

(*Continued on next page*)

[p. 101]

114 the care of which forms a very complex ritual, and containing within itself such an unusual feature as polyandry, this culture was bound to attract attention as a thing *sui generis* in the field of knowledge of anthropologists. Work on the language of the tribe in 1935–7 has given me an opportunity to study the culture as well. The present paper attempts to assess the amount and nature [121] of such changes as the culture has suffered in the thirty-five years since Rivers' visit.

177 In 1901–2, the Todas were already exposed to outside influences of several different kinds. Leaving aside their immemorial connexion with the Kotas and the Kurumbas, these three tribes regarding themselves as being the aboriginal inhabitants of the hills and as having been created there together, and their more recent but still ancient connexion with the immigrant Badagas, two other strong influences had been in a position to affect Toda culture from the time that the Nilgiris became accessible early in the 19th century. The English, who created three hill-stations, Ootacamund, Coonoor, and Kotagiri, and a military station Wellington, provided one of these influences, and their Indian servants, minor officials, and tradespeople, an even stronger influence. Since Rivers' time conditions in the hills have changed so that outside influences have become potentially much stronger. A railway now connects Ootacamund and Coonoor with the Tamilian plains to the south and motorbuses connect the whole area with the Mysore plains. The possibilities of the Nilgiris as a suitable ground for growing vegetable produce and tea have been exploited to a high degree. Their attractions as holiday grounds for Europeans and a place of retirement at the end of official life have been certainly not more widely appreciated, but perhaps more widely used by Europeans from all parts of India. The climax of this tendency of the English to invade the Nilgiris

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113 *id.*, *Personal names of the Todas*, American Anthropologist, April 1938.

id., *An Echo-word Motif in Dravidian Folk-tales*, Journal of the American Oriental Society (not yet published).

Census of India, 1931, vol. 14 (Madras), part 1 (report by M. W. M. Yeatts), 387–392.

[M. B. Emeneau, *Toda Marriage Regulations and Taboos*, American Anthropologist 39, 103–112. This completes the list of my papers on the Todas up to date, but is not referred to in this paper.]

648 Todas who have no buffaloes and no means of making a sufficient
434 living within the tribal structure find employment on tea-estates.
Others who live near Ootacamund make their living by
tending cattle, an occupation congenial to pastoralists. In most
cases they live in their own villages and do not find their participation
in the communal life of the tribe too much restricted by
their extra-tribal economic activities.

595 In matters of social oraganization no change of any great
114 importance can be found since Rivers made his investigations.
The marriage system seems to work quite as it did then, fraternal
polyandry modified by polygyny. Rivers' prediction that in time
monogamy would prevail is not yet fulfilled. Though it is
impossible without a statistical study of Rivers' genealogies
brought up to date to make any valid statement concerning the
decrease or otherwise of polyandry, I have got no information
that would lead me to believe that the institution is a dying one.

588 In conjunction with the normal marriage system, in which
616 each of the moieties of the tribe is endogamous, there is another
institution, whereby a man from one moiety lives with a woman
of the other moiety, each member of the couple having as well his
or her legal spouse. Any children resulting from this union are
reckoned for all purposes as children of the woman by her husband
within her own moiety. In fact, if a man resembles closely his
[578] mother's lover (called moxθo:tjfojo:ḷ), this fact may be thrown up
to him as an insult ("son of so-and-so [the mother's lover]!").
587 Rivers' described (p. 534) how the headman kuɯ:ṣjaḷf made an
588 innovation by taking a wife from the moiety not his own, or rather
616 by taking a woman, as he was entitled to do, by the moxθo:tjfoj
118 institution but insisting on giving compensation for her to her
husband as if she were a woman of his own moiety, i. e. by treating
her as his legal wife. This innovation made a great impact
on Toda consciousness and is still spoken of and referred to in
any songs about kuɯ:ṣjaḷf or the children of this union. The
example was followed in kuɯ:ṣjaḷf's lifetime by several men, but
all these unions have been dissolved by death, and since kuɯ:ṣjaḷf's
death no fresh example has been allowed by the chief men
of the tribe. The innovation, which if continued would probably

the dairy; this contrasts with the rule of the Kotas that the waistcloth must be discarded on going within the Kota temple areas. 291 177

Other sociological phenomena need not be touched upon in detail; accounts that I have been given of various of them agree entirely with River's accounts. 114

Since Rivers' time one sib of the to·rθaṣ moiety has come near extinction, viz. the niṛjo·ḷ found in Rivers' genealogical tables 40–43. The family in table 41 has been extinguished entirely by the death of its last male members. The only male member still surviving of the family in table 42 is a Christian, and this family is regarded as extinguished. In 40 and 43 each family is represented now by a male infant and a Christian male. It is unlikely that the three Christians originally of this sib will return to the tribe since they were very young when they became members of the Christian community. The sib must be carried on by the two infants and if they should survive and have sons, the organization of the sib into the divisions called kuɯɨṛ (pp. 542–4) will remain as it is now; otherwise, a new division will be necessary, as will in any case a new po·lm division (pp. 544–6), or the sib may be wholly extinguished. 114 614

In the matter of religious institutions, I can again find no change, though my more intimate, linguistic approach enables me to place the emphasis in some cases at different points from those which Rivers stressed and to present an amplified and better balanced picture of the religious system as a whole than that of Rivers. I shall not here go into much detail, merely presenting a sketchy outline of the religious picture as my material yields it and touching on some points where Rivers thought that he could observe tendencies to change. 771 114

The religion of the Todas is a highly ritualized buffalo-cult. Every important operation connected with the buffaloes is conducted according to rule, the milking and converting the milk successively into butter and ghee, giving salt to the buffaloes, taking them on migration to fresh pastures, burning over the pastures, giving a buffalo a name when it has calved for 771 233 234 994

771 the first time,[1] introducing new utensils into the dairy and
233 preparing new coagulant for the milk, rebuilding and rethatching
234 the dairy, consecrating dairymen, and even drinking buttermilk
794 from the dairy. All the rules apply to the sacred buffaloes;
ordinary ones are treated with much less ceremony. Infractions
[783] of the rules involve pollution, and most of the precautions
surrounding the cult seem designed to prevent pollution of the
[778] milk by contact with profane persons or utensils. The milk, as
the primary product, is most liable to pollution and the successive
operations finally result in ghee, which possesses so little sanctity
794 that it can be sold to outsiders.

776 Rivers (pp. 447–9) dealt with the various elements of the
● 114 dairy-cult which might conceivably be regarded as divinities,
[234] the dairy, the bell, the buffaloes, and the poḷo:ḷ, the priest of the
most sacred grade of dairy, the ti:. He rightly rejected all these
as being divinities for the Todas. Finally, in a paragraph on p. 449, he attempted to grapple with the problem of the Toda divinities. He said: " Each clan is believed to have its nódrodchi, or ruling deity, but I could not learn what he is supposed to do. In general the nódrodchi of a clan is a god dwelling on a hill near the chief village of the clan, and two clans living near one another may have the same ruler......... Little can be said about the nature of these connexions between gods and clans, but it is possible that when a clan or a member of a clan is said to incur the anger of the gods it is the nódrodchi who is chiefly offended and inflicts punishment in the form of death or disease to man or buffalo." This neglects one very important set of divinities. Rivers failed to discriminate between two different classes of divinities, the töuθmt and the töuno:r. The Todas are not very articulate on the distinction when pressed for information in
general terms, but the distinction is implicit in all that is said
[533] on the subject and becomes very explicit in the language of the
songs.

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[1] This ceremony, the wyfo:lfmet, is performed for a sacred buffalo only
and only at its first calving; Rivers (p. 173) is to be corrected on this point.
[114] The essential part of the ceremony is the name-giving. When the calf is
released from the calf-shed and allowed to go to its mother to be suckled, the
[552] dairyman says the name, e. g. kasθum, and then strikes the buffalo three
[788] times with the wand, saying hõ: at each stroke (p. 173 top). Before this
ceremony the buffalo is classed as no·ṭ-n, after is as wy.

Most of the deities who are named and of whom stories are 776
told are the töuθɯţ and it is about these that Rivers acquired 114
much information. They are "the mountains (tɯţ) which are 794
gods (töu)," and with them we may include the river deities.
They are very real to the Todas; for details I refer to Rivers,
since little that is new on these gods has come to me. But they
are not the gods of the sibs. They have connexions with the
villages of the sibs (the villages are called mo*d*, Englished as
"mund"), e. g. tö·kiʂj created most of the Toda institutions at
the mund no·ṛ and this connexion is kept very much in mind.
They may also be offended against, and diviners may and do [777]
sometimes say that such and such misfortunes have come to a [791]
man because he has so offended, especially against the river gods [688]
by breaking the regulations concerning the crossing of rivers.
But these töuθɯţ are not the most important gods to the Todas. 794

The töuno·ṛ are by all odds the most present divinities in Toda 776
consciousness. These are the gods of the munds, or rather of the 234
dairy-complexes localized at munds. Most munds consist of one [361]
or more dairies, buffalo-pens, and other appurtenances of the
dairy-cult, together with several houses in which the people live.
The dairy section of the mund is the töuno·ṛ and it is clear from
the song-phraseology and the prayers that it is not only the
dairies that are denoted by this term, but the whole dairy-complex
associated with the dairies. The prayers are made up of names [782]
of everything connected with the complex, dairies, sacred buffaloes,
pens, calf-sheds, bells, utensils and tools used in the dairies,
and coagulant. The dairyman in that he is the servant of the
complex is to this extent connected with it. The complex may
suffer pollution in any of its parts, and for this reason women, [783]
who are the chief source of pollution, are rigorously separated [562]
from the complex and not allowed to approach it from the house
across a line that is marked by a stone or stones. The houses in
fact are designated as a·ṛ as opposed to the dairy section 776
of the mund which is no·ṛ "sacred place." Within the no·ṛ it 234
cannot be discovered that any element is the local seat of the 778
divinity. The linguistic evidence shows that the no·ṛ itself 794
is the god. Both songs and ordinary speech refer to the sacred [192]
part of the mund as töu "god" or no·ṛ "sacred place" or töuno·ṛ,
a compound of the two words denoting "the sacred place which

will order the setting up in the munds of Hindu shrines. They 177
now at times of misfortune order propitiation of the tribal gods 778
or the making of vows to temples already established and well 791
known to the Todas. The two outlets are probably sufficient for
all Toda needs, though the Kotas, who had much the same two
outlets, worship at their own temples and occasional making of
vows to Hindu temples, seems to have found them insufficient in
a time of stress.

A puzzling point in Toda religion is the calf-sacrifice (Rivers 782
pp. 274-290). Rivers had difficulty in learning anything about 114
it, and I have encountered equal difficulty. I finally succeeded [124]
in having a sham performance put on for me in great secrecy.
The chief of the two performers said that he had never been
present at a sacrifice of this kind, while the other had assisted
at the sacrifice at one of the most sacred dairies, the ti :-dairies;
the former man also asserted that the calf-sacrifice is extremely
rare except at ti :-dairies. Other informants however have stated
that it takes place frequently at the munds as well as at the ti :-dairies.
My chief informant was probably concealing the truth.
One reason why this was so was accidentally dropped by him,
that the Todas are ashamed to have it known that they eat meat [262]
at this sacrifice. This type of purity as a mark of high caste, if it [564]
was not known to the Todas from the beginning of their occupation [177]
of the Nilgiris, has perhaps been preached to them by Hindu
missionaries or may perhaps have become known to them quite
casually from contact with plains Hindus. It seems unlikely
however that this is all that is behind the secrecy surrounding
the subject, but more information is not to be had. The same
secrecy has undoubtedly falsified my records of the songs in
several places. The sacrifice should be mentioned in several
different contexts, as I discovered late in my field-work. Substitutions
of innocuous phrases were made until one of my informants
through familiarity became careless and used the proper
phrase. I was able in later dictations to prompt the informants,
to their slight surprise and discomfort, and to record both the
reference to the sacrifice and the attempted substitution.

It will be seen from the preceding discussion that changes in 177
Toda culture due to outside influences have been extremely
slight. In religion no changes since Rivers' time are known; [771]

177 [777] the chief changes, payment of vows to Hindu temples and a belief in a supreme god, were already firmly established thirty-five years ago, and even these have had little effect on the firm core of Toda religious life, important as the payment of vows is in Toda eyes, since they have been merely additions and have set up no conflicts within the old pattern. In social matters such changes as can be seen are mere surface additions, again causing no conflict within the pattern. [178] [582] The innovation in marriage customs attempted by kuu:sjaḷḷ and recorded by Rivers, which would have produced stress, has been eliminated by the conservatism of the tribe. Most change is seen in economic life, and [425] [426] that in the way of gradual impoverishment through alienation of land and contracting debts in the bazaars, which had set in long before Rivers made his description. Change in the pattern has not yet resulted, in spite of the abortive attempt that was made [659] by the Toda Amelioration Scheme to add agriculture to the life of pastoralists. If a prediction is worth anything, it may be guessed that so long as the economic system is guarded against breakup, as it is now, the tribe will remain as it is now and as it was thirty-five years ago.

161 177 There remains the important question of the effect of outside influences on the population figures of the Todas. Rivers in 1906 recorded his conclusion (p. 475) : " The Census Reports and the genealogical record agree in pointing to a diminution of the Toda population about the middle of the last century which has now ceased, the probability being that the Todas are increasing slightly in number.........Any decrease....was the direct result of the changes brought about by the advent of Europeans to the Nilgiri Hills. " He goes on to refer especially to the influences, injurious to fertility, of syphilis and sexual immorality, and we should surely add gonorrhea. By sexual immorality he seems ● [114] to mean especially intercourse between women of the tribe and men of other communities. This, though it undoubtedly occurs, is probably of minor importance as compared with the normal system within the tribe. It is probable that the great freedom of sexual intercourse permitted to women [831] by the polyandrous system combined with the mokfedjfej institution by which a woman has at least one " lover " belonging to the other moiety and the freedom to enjoy

irregular intercourse brings about frequent early miscarriage and 161 177 perhaps absolute sterility. When we pass to the figures of the [831] actual population, it is found that Rivers' guess that the Todas are increasing slightly in numbers is not borne out by the crude [114] Census figures of 1911, 1921, and 1931.[1] The figures are: in 1901 807, in 1911 676 (which is the corrected figure given by the Census officer after deducting double enumerations), in 1921 640, in 1931 597. It was suggested by the Census officer that the great apparent decline in 1901–11 is in reality due to double enumerations in 1901. The declines in the two succeeding decades are due in large part to epidemics, influenza in 1918–9 and relapsing fever in 1923–4. A subsidiary census in 1927, which yielded the figure of 582 and seems to have been carried out carefully, provides us with two figures which show that between the end of 1927 and the beginning of 1931, with no epidemic intervening, there was a slight increase in population, worked out by the Census officer as equivalent to an increase of about 8¼ per cent for a decade. The lack of vital statistics throws us back on the crude population figures, which are highly unsatisfactory for results that will mean anything. The decade 1931–41 has so far been free from epidemics. If this happy state continues, it may [164] be anticipated that the figures in 1941 will show an increase comparable with that between 1927 and 1931. But the high mortality of the tribe during epidemics, due in part to lack of immunity, but perhaps even more to crude, insanitary living conditions, is a constant danger to the continued existence and functioning of so small a community. The introduction of contagious disease to the community by the immigrant inhabitants of the hills is easily the point where outside influences have made the greatest impact on the Todas.

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[1] See *Census of India, 1931*, reference given in note 1.

LANGUAGE AND SOCIAL FORMS: A STUDY OF TODA KINSHIP TERMS AND DUAL DESCENT

By M. B. EMENEAU

121 THAT THE DATA obtained by linguistic investigation of any community is of indispensable value for the ethnographer studying that community has long been axiomatic for the anthropological school of which Sapir was a brilliant member. His statement of the point in *The Status of Linguistics as a Science* deserves to be quoted:

> Language is becoming increasingly valuable as a guide to the scientific study of a given culture. In a sense, the network of cultural patterns of a civilization is indexed in the language which expresses that civilization. It is an illusion to think that we can understand the significant outlines of a culture through sheer observation and without the guide of the linguistic symbolism which makes these outlines significant and intelligible to society. Some day the attempt to master a primitive culture without the help of the language of its society will seem as amateurish as the labors of a historian who cannot handle the original documents of the civilization which he is describing.[1]

To go a little further and say that the culminating item of value that the linguistic student can give to ethnology is the study of a community's most highly verbalized cultural manifestations would be what Sapir would and undoubtedly did hold. It is here, in their verbal art-forms, stories, songs, oratory, or the like, that the members of the culture give the most overt and self-conscious expression to the patterns which they follow or profess to follow in their life. Linguistic study, if it is confined to its primary object of recording and analyzing the forms of utterances and never goes beyond that, can offer little to ethnology. It must, with that analysis as a basis, go on to a strict philological analysis of well-recorded and fully guaranteed texts in the forms most highly esteemed by the culture, and the results of such study should provide then "the linguistic symbolism which makes these outlines [of a culture gained through sheer observation] significant and intelligible."

121 The following study presents the kinship system of the Todas of the Nilgiris in South India. In a previous paper on *Toda Marriage Regulations and Taboos*, the existence was re-
128 ported of a complete division of the Todas into matrilineal sibs alongside of the previously known complete division into patrilineal sibs. In this paper I present, following on the kin-
614 ship system, the material on the functions of the two sib-systems as against one another. In these sections an attempt has been made to use the evidence provided by the Toda art-form
[114] of highest prestige, the songs. Discussion based on this evidence is found on pp. 160–161 on the use of "friend" terms beside kinship terms, on p. 165 on the special kinship term used by a woman for the wife of her husband's brother by the same father, and throughout the Appendix, which presents the kinship terms; and again on pp. 169–172, where the data on the

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[1] Edward Sapir, *The Status of Linguistics as a Science* (Language, Vol. 5, pp. 207–14, 1929), p. 209.

12: Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938)1941 AW60 Toda AW60

emotional attitude of the Todas towards their matrilineal sib-system is presented. It is 121 thought that in this use of song material the "amateurish" methodology against which 128 Sapir protested has been avoided, and some light has been thrown upon Toda institutions in a way which he would have approved. The study ends with some discussion of the bear- 614 ing of the Todas' dual descent system on the historical question of their "origin," which has engaged the attention of most of those who have studied them.

Rivers' account of the kinship system of the Todas is essentially correct.[2] Linguistic re- 114 search with this tribe has added little but detail to our knowledge of this department of the tribal institutions, except in the important matter of dual descent, which escaped Rivers' 614 meticulous investigations.[3] In this paper I shall present the kinship terms in correct linguistic shape, and shall make the few factual corrections that are necessary. The main body of the paper will be devoted to a discussion of the dual descent system.

The most important factual correction in Rivers' account relates to the age distinctions 601 made in the kinship system. He records three age-groups in EGO's generation based on age relative to that of EGO.[4] In fact, the system makes only two distinctions. There is a dichotomy 561 on the basis of age relative to EGO. An elder brother or male parallel cousin in either patrilin- [114] eal or matrilineal sib or outside them (son of EGO's mother's clan-sister) is oṇ in reference, oṇɑː in address; an elder sister or female parallel cousin related in the same ways is okn in reference, okɑː in address. A younger sibling or parallel cousin related in the same ways, without distinction of sex, is -ŭɯɽ-fed in reference, with the appropriate pronominal form preceding, and endɑː in address. En-ŭɯɽ-fed is "my younger sibling," literally "one who was born with, or after, me;" nɯn-ŭɯɽ-fed "your younger sibling," ɑn-ŭɯɽ-fed (or ɑn-dɑn-ŭɯɽ-fed) "his or her younger sibling," om-ŭɯɽ-fed "our (inclusive) younger sibling," em-ŭɯɽ-fed "our (exclusive) younger sibling," nɯm-ŭɯɽ-fed "your (plural) younger sibling;" "their younger sibling" is the same as "his or her" or ɑθɑːn-ŭɯɽ-fed. If the sex of the person referred to must be indicated, -mox added to any of the forms signifies a male, -xuːx (= kuːx) a female.[5]

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[2] W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (London, 1906), pp. 483–501 for the kinship terms. The volume is referred to in this paper as Rivers. In mentioning members of the tribe by name a number is frequently added in brackets after the name; this refers to the corresponding genealogical table in Rivers. [104]

[3] See M. B. Emeneau, *Toda Marriage Regulations and Taboos* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 39, pp. 103–12, 1937) for a detailed account of the matrilineal sibs which are found within the moieties and cut across the well-known division into patrilineal sibs. In the present paper I employ the same system of phonemic writing that was used in that paper, with the corrections made in my later paper *Personal Names of the Todas* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 40, pp. 205–23, 1938), p. 205 fn. 1. In this paper I use š, ž for palatalized alveolar sibilants, c, ʒ for post-dental affricates and č, ǯ for palatalized post-dental affricates; ɯ is a high, back, unrounded vowel. Acknowledgments are due again to the American Council of Learned Societies for aid in my field-work in 1935–36 and to the American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund) for aid in 1936–38. [104] [122]

[4] Pp. 486 bottom, 487, and *passim*.

[5] Rivers, p. 487, said: "I do not know whether the children of two women of the same generation in [a patrilineal sib] would call one another brother and sister." The terms are extended to all children of women whom EGO would refer to as mother, whether they are in his patrilineal or matrilineal sib, or outside them. The term

601 561 114 [576]

Besides these Rivers distinguished a relative of this type who is of the same age as ego. This distinction is in fact impossible, both in the strict temporal sense, and in the Toda cultural pattern. It is always known how the persons in question stand to one another in the matter of relative time of birth, and in such cultural contexts as formal greetings[6] no room is left by the pattern for a class of the same age as ego. For example, at a gathering each new male arrival must salute all the males already present with the proper formal term of address, and among these all classificatory elder brothers must be greeted. If any of those present is neglected, the offender is reprimanded and if necessary fined for the neglect. The pattern in its strict application makes a clean dichotomy and in practically all circumstances the dichotomy is rigidly enforced. The word given by Rivers for his third class is koɨɬ "friend," occurring chiefly with pronominal forms preceding, egoɨɬ or en·goɨɬ "my friend" (in address -es is added), num·goɨɬ "your friend," an·goɨɬ or tan·goɨɬ "his or her friend," etc. These terms are normally used between or with reference to close friends of the same age-level who are not related to one another (e.g., typically between two persons who belong to different moieties). They may also be used where formality is not enforced by the pattern; I have no certain information as to whether they could be used between siblings, but there is some slight evidence to be discussed below which would indicate that it is possible. It is to be noted however that this is only permissive and that the term does not designate any kinship class or even any relationship that is highly formalized in the culture.[7]

533 601 [193]

When two persons sing together, certain subjects allow or require that vocatives be used at the beginning, the end, and important division-points of the songs. In most of the texts that I have recorded the proper kinship terms are used in such songs. Ten songs use the conventional song-words for "friend (vocative)," enbocxoɨɬjaɨ, eningoɨɬjaɨ.[8] Three situations may be divided off. In the first (three songs) the two singers are of different moieties and presumably no "lover-mistress" relationship would require kinship terms.[9] In a second class (four songs) membership of the same moiety might very well involve a relationship where kinship terms should be used, but I do not know of any such relationship; two of the songs were sung by the same pair of singers and were dictated to me at a sufficient interval of time so that the use of "friend" terms is guaranteed. In a third class (three songs) there was certainly relationship between the singers, but as dictated the "friend" terms were used. These

[114] [126]

songs were dictated rather early in my field-work before I realized all the implications of the

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[601] [561]

in address is the simple vocative (distinguished by sex and relative age); in reference the simple brother-sister terms might be used or, where more exact reference is necessary, descriptive terms. In the case of address to cross-cousins of the same sex as ego the brother-sister terms are used (see note 7 below).

[6] Rivers, pp. 496–98.

[7] In the case also of address to cross-cousins of the same sex as the speaker there is no room for Rivers' third classification (p. 488 bottom); only age older or younger than that of ego is taken into account in determining the kinship term to be used.

[114]

[8] For the nature of the song-words, see my paper *The Songs of the Todas* (Proceedings, American Philosophical Society, Vol. 77, pp. 543–60, 1937), especially pp. 545–49.

[9] For this relationship, see Rivers, pp. 526–29.

song-language, and it is possible that the informants, who happened to be in no case the 533
singers, dictated incorrectly. In one song pïljaːr (Piliar, 52) and merqɨːs (Mudriners, 57) 601
sang; these men were of the same patrilineal sib and used "brother" terms to one another. In 114
another sindwɨp (Sintharap), wife of kütːɨjoff (Kuriolv, 52), and koːsɨr (Kosar, 57) sang; 126
these women would certainly have used "sister" terms to one another. In the third song, which was dreamed, two men recently dead were singing: taːθjaːm, son of sirjaːr (Siriar, 30), and tüθθüm, son of toːkas (Tokas) and punɨr (Puner, 53); they belonged to the same patrilineal sib and the former called the latter ejaː "father." Other dreamed songs in which dead persons sang used the correct kinship terms. It is difficult to interpret this small minority of songs in which relationship was neglected. It may be possible that relationship can be neglected; I prefer to suspect mistakes in the record until further field work can clear the matter up.

The kinship system is of the type known as the Dakota-Iroquois system (see accompanying diagrams and Appendix). The salient points of the system are those stressed by Rivers— 601
the obligatory indication of age-distinctions in ego's generation (with the qualification made 561
in the preceding discussion) and the permissive indication in the first ascending generation (see p. 163 below); the obligatory distinction in the first ascending generation between father's brothers and male parallel cousins and mother's sisters and female parallel cousins on the one hand, and father's sisters and female parallel cousins and mother's brothers and male parallel cousins on the other, and in ego's generation between the children of these two groups. A clear distinction is made between terms used in reference and those used in ad- 601
dress. The reference terms are built about a core of simplex classificatory terms with a large number of phrasal and frequently *ad hoc* terms to indicate those to whom the simplex terms do not apply. Permissively, the simplex terms also may be replaced by phrasal terms when very exact reference is needed, e.g., man-mox "son of sibling of sex opposed to that of ego" (itself phrasal, but in connotation a simplex) and man-guːx "daughter, etc." may be replaced by en-okng-faːdfoj-mox "son who was born to my elder sister (male speaking)," en-ïüɾ-fed-mokk-faːdfoj-guːx "daughter who was born to my younger brother (female speaking)," etc. The terms of address, on the other hand, are all simplex classificatory terms and, being extended very widely, neglect a number of the reference classifications, indicated either by simplex or by phrasal terms. A summary of the system follows:

There is no self-reciprocating terminology in address. In reference močiŋj "cross-cousin" is self-reciprocating, since it does not distinguish sex or relative age; when a permissively added word indicates the sex, the self-reciprocating nature of the term is destroyed. In ego's generation his siblings and classificatory parallel cousins are referred to and addressed by terms which distinguish age older than himself and younger than himself respectively and sex is distinguished in the case of those older than himself.

Sex is specified in referring to and addressing members of the ascending generations, except in referring to the cross-cousins of one's parents and of one's parents' siblings and parallel cousins (en-in-močiŋj "my father's cross-cousin," en-af-močiŋj "my mother's cross-

601

cousin;" sex may however be indicated by the addition of the respective sex-denoting words). In ego's generation sex is specified in referring to and addressing his siblings and parallel cousins older than himself, and in addressing cross-cousins, but not in referring to and addressing siblings and parallel cousins younger than himself or in referring to cross-cousins; in reference in the latter cases an optional reference is allowed. In descending generations sex is specified in reference but not in address.

In ego's generation a dichotomy is made in classification on the basis of age older or younger than his own (see above), in the case of siblings and parallel cousins when referred to or addressed, and in the case of cross-cousins of the same sex as ego when addressed. In the first ascending generation ego's father's male siblings and parallel cousins are permissively dichotomized on the basis of age elder or younger than the father's, and ego's mother's female siblings and parallel cousins on the basis of age elder or younger than the mother's, in both cases by prefixing per-θuṇḍ "big-who is" and kuṛ-θuṇḍ "small-who is" to the classificatory terms, either of reference or address.

The father is not distinguished in address or reference from his brothers and male parallel cousins, nor in address from his male cross-cousins; the mother is not distinguished in address or reference from her sisters and female parallel cousins, nor in address from her female cross-cousins. A step-parent is not distinguished in reference or address from a parent.

[595]

In ego's generation siblings by the same father are not distinguished in reference or address from children of the father's brothers or from children of the mother's sisters. There is a permissively used special term of reference for a man's brother who is a son of the same father, optafn; e.g., aθ en-optafn-oṃji "he is my brother, the son of the same father as myself," optafn-mox fatjoṭi "do not seize the wife of (your) brother by the same father (i.e. do not carry her off as you may do with other men's wives and then have compensation [ter] arranged by the tribal council)."[18] When special exactness is needed, descriptive phrases may be used.

In the first ascending generation there is a special term, both in reference and address, for the father's sisters and female parallel cousins, and this is also used for the mother's male siblings' and male parallel cousins' wives, and for ego's mother-in-law and her female siblings. Similarly, there is a special term for the mother's brothers and male parallel cousins, and this is used also for the father's female siblings' and female parallel cousins' husbands, and for ego's father-in-law and the latter's male siblings. In ego's generation the classification of cross-cousin applies to all the children of those in the first ascending generation who are classed according to the preceding two sentences, except those who are affines; a spouse's siblings are not classed as ego's cross-cousins, unless they are really so. In the first descending generation a distinction is made in reference between two groups: (a) the children of one's siblings or parallel cousins of the same sex as oneself and of one's cross-cousins of the opposite sex from oneself (these are all descriptively distinguished, e.g., on-mox "elder brother's son," en-θïṇ-fod-mokm-mox "my younger brother's son," močiŋj-xu tɘn-mox "female cross-

[114]

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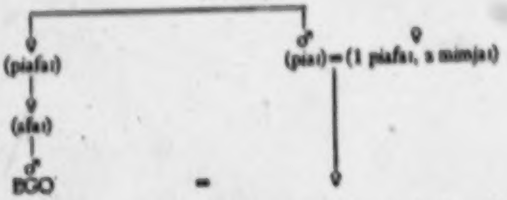
[18] Rivers, pp. 515-23. It is possible that optafn is the word meant by Rivers (p. 484), [illegible].

Piɖkɨpɨts (Püklenir, 21) is by relationship within a patrilineal sib grandson to pɨnɨts 601
(Panera, 23). By an untraceable relationship in a matrilineal sib the latter is maternal uncle 614
to the *former* and is called by him mumuɨ. The wives of these men were sinmiɨr (Sinmir)
married to piɖkɨpɨts, and pœrgɨɬ (Pergveli) married to pɨnɨts. If the men's relationship
within a patrilineal sib had determined the terminology, sinmiɨr would have called pœrgɨɬ
grandmother (piafaɨ). Since this relationship was overridden for the men, it was overridden
for their wives also; following the terms used by the men, sinmiɨr should have called pœrgɨɬ mimjaɨ (here indicating husband's maternal uncle's wife). Actually, sinmiɨr's mother
osfɨɬ (Achaveli, 43) was sister to pœrgɨɬ, both being daughters of the same mother
pœmbuɨf. Consequently, by this relationship in a matrilineal sib, sinmiɨr called pœrgɨɬ
mother (afaɨ).

DIAGRAM 5



In a hypothetical case, a man married the daughter of his mother's mother's brother. Previous to the marriage he called this man grandfather (piaɨ) because of relationship within the same matrilineal sib; after the marriage he retained the term, this relationship overriding in terminology the new relationship of father-in-law (mumuɨ). The older man's wife was called, prior to the marriage, grandmother (piafaɨ), even if she had been of the same patrilineal sib as the younger man (affinal relationship overriding relationship in the same patrilineal sib). After the marriage she is called by the younger man mother-in-law (mimjaɨ) even if she had been of the same patrilineal sib. In this case one relationship by marriage has preference over another, apparently the nearer marriage overriding the more distant. Unfortunately, this matter was not investigated further.

One of the functions of the matrilineal sibs hr- appeared in this discussion of the kinship 535
terminology. The primary function was shown in a previous paper[44] to be that of regulating 614
marriage; no Toda may marry a person who is a co-member of a matrilineal sib. In another 765
cultural context matrilineal sibs are of importance. This is in the matter of mourning for a
dead person. This in general was treated by Rivers;[45] an account of the rules regulating

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[44] *Toda Marriage Regulations and Taboos.*

[45] Pp. 367–71. One slight correction should be made in his account of the manner of wearing the hair (p. 369). Rivers there says that the hair must be tied in a knot in front. The real rule is that the hair must not be cut during the period of pollution. It grows long and is usually tied up in a knot in front so that it will not obscure the sight. [114 302]

12: Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938)1941 AW60 Toda AW60

person because of relationship in the same matrilineal sib, in the same patrilineal sib, or by 585
pojoɫ relationship may be permitted to dance.[19] Or, it may happen that, although there are 614
enough members of the proper moiety to dance, there is no one present of the proper moiety 616
who knows how to compose dance-words.[20] In this case if a composer of the moiety of the 764
dead person is present, he may be permitted to dance and compose words. It may happen 765
that all the composers of both moieties will be prevented from dancing by the mourning
rules; in this case one of them will be allowed to dance and compose words.

It will be seen from the manner in which the rules are relaxed between situations (a) [583]
and (b) for a man, and within the situation (a) as between a man and a woman, that no one
may ever dance who is related by co-membership in the same matrilineal sib to any dead
person, either of whose funerals is outstanding. In both cases however when the rules
are relaxed, i.e. when a man's second funeral only is outstanding and when a woman's first
or second funeral is outstanding, the only co-members of the patrilineal sib who are forbidden to dance are those within the immediate family. We may conclude from these rules 614
and from the universally overriding force of relationship within the same matrilineal sib in
the application of kinship terms, that in these social spheres the matrilineal sib has greater
importance than the patrilineal.[21] Rivers' description has of course made clear the overwhelming importance of the patrilineal sibs in the economic, religious, and social spheres. A man belongs to the patrilineal sib of his father and inherits his property and all his ownership rights and duties in the sacred herds of buffaloes, the dairies at which they are tended, the pastures, etc. This is the pivot of Toda life and in it the matrilineal sibs do not figure at all. In the matter of marriage patrilineal and matrilineal sibs are of equal value; no Toda may marry a person belonging to his own sib of either type. In the matters treated in this paper, however, though both types of sib play a part, the matrilineal sib relationship has greater weight than the other.

A hint of the attitude of a Toda towards the members of his matrilineal sib is provided 539
by the words of the songs. The attitude is identified by the work noɫkj which was trans- 614
lated as "shame," and refers to the sensation of shrinking felt when one is confronted with 775
an embarrassing situation. We shall first examine a prose account of the expedition of
kajnɪɪr (Kainir, 3) to the points of interest on the path over the hills followed by the dead 196
on their way to the afterworld. His daughter ɑrliɪʒ had married piɪɫkoɽ (Pilködr, 16) of the 114
mörɪ patrilineal sib, whose mund pɑn is very near the point where the path starts southwestward into the Kundah hills. She assured her father of the interest that such an expedition would have and he with several companions made it successfully. One of the points is

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[19] A person who cannot dance on any occasion because of mourning is called kōɪɪ(k)-koɪpoɪɫ "person who is waiting for a funeral."

[20] See reference in note 12 above.

[21] Another place where relationship in the matrilineal sib counts is in the salutations performed at various [576] ceremonies, as e.g., at the pɑɪs-wɪt or bow-giving ceremony. There the wife salutes all the male and female members of her father's patrilineal sib and her own matrilineal sib, and those of her husband's patrilineal sib who are older than herself. Likewise the husband salutes all the male and female members of his patrilineal sib, his matrilineal sib, and his wife's patrilineal sib without respect to relative ages. So correct Rivers, p. 330.

539 pormaxθur,[28] a swamp reached shortly after the path is entered. When kojnitr asked what it was he was told: il-θon-uji putrotj-notj yst "It is just here that the putrotj-notj [a tiger
614 that looks like a dog] chases people." The text proceeds: 'ætd' ud fintjn. 'poʃjotʃ-xutrjfojotʃ
[775] θud-mortk-fæɖfoj-xutrjfojotʃŋ putrotj-notj ysti; poʃjotʃ ŋotmjti; ottotʃ xarsti' udng. "He asked: 'Why?' They said: 'The putrotj-notj chases a man who has had sexual intercourse
[114] with one of his matrilineal sib or who has had sexual intercourse with one of his patrilineal sib; his poʃjotʃ feel shame; the ottotʃ laugh.' " The word poʃjotʃ was said to mean his relations, and the word ottotʃ those not related to him. The latter word is quite obscure, is never used except in songs and in this passage quoted, and only the use in this passage as explained by the narrator gives any clue to its meaning. If poʃjotʃ means all relations, and not merely members of the same matrilineal sib, it is the only place, where its meaning can be determined, in which it has such an extended meaning. It is very possible that the two phrases used here are derived from the song-language; the use of ottotʃ, otherwise only a song-word, is rather good evidence that this is so. Such use of song-phrases in the telling of stories would not be unusual. If so, we need not force poʃjotʃ into the extended meaning required in the story. It refers literally to members of the matrilineal sib only, but by the implications of the context to members of the patrilineal sib as well.

If we now examine the cases where poʃjotʃ occurs in the songs, we find that it is in all but one case joined with the word notŝkj (cf. the verb notŋjti "are ashamed" in the prose above). In one case three sons of a man of the totrotɽ patrilineal sib wanted to make a two-
[764] day funeral for their father, and their sib approved and joined in making preparations. These included getting a permit from the Government authorities to slaughter more than the nor-
[578] mally permitted two buffaloes. One important man of the katɩ patrilineal sib was overlooked in the distribution of gratuities and from spite blocked the issue of the permit. In her lament for her husband, the widow says:

putkθutrθotr   poʃjotʃ-ŋotŝkj   otjxθuθum
pæɾθotr   ottotʃ-ŋotŋ   otjxθuθum
notɖotʃk-notŝkj   otjxθuθum
sitmjotʃk-sig   otjxθuθum

"The totrotɽ patrilineal sib became ashamed before the poʃjotʃ, the ottotʃ, the people of the country (notɖotʃ), the people of the district (sitmjotʃ; district = country)." It is apparent here that the poʃjotʃ and the ottotʃ together make up the Todas, and that the shame is that of one patrilineal sib when thwarted in an honorable undertaking by another. The words poʃjotʃ and ottotʃ have no real pertinence in this context; they are the conventional words in song-language when speaking of shame.

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[28] One account given to me placed this near the beginning of the path, another (perhaps the more trustworthy) where it is placed in Rivers' account of the path ([illegible] pp. 398-400); his account is in general incomplete.

196 The remaining passage in a song about my investigations is as follows:

539 naḷkanɯsk   sydj-mil-sydj   pɯṭɯθik
poʃjoɪʃ-xoɪrjm   oɪtoɪʃ-foṇt   öštjɯḑoɪ   ɯdɯθik
614 oɪn arjen   enk öštoθ   sotj-moɪḑkin   ɯdɯθɯng   noɪṛṇɯsfɯn

"You sent message after message to the mund omgaɪs. You said: 'Tell me without fail the nature of the poʃjoɪʃ.' Noɪṛṇɯs (Nòdrners, 67) said: 'I do not know; I was not told; I swear an oath.'" The pair poʃjoɪʃ, oɪtoɪʃ is used as demanded by convention, as is also poṇt "word," but to fit the pertinent word poʃjoɪʃ (which I was enquiring about) into the context, the conventional noɪškj was replaced by koɪrjm,[11] primarily "ceremony, ritual detail," here "details in general, nature." The song-phrases have been violently torn from their usual contexts and oɪtoɪʃ-foṇt, necessary by convention, is here quite meaningless. (Incidentally, [115] noɪṛṇɯs was the only Toda who ever refused information about matters that he certainly knew thoroughly.) The relationship within a matrilineal sib is essentially surrounded by [609] shame, embarrassment (noɪškj), and should not be talked about to outsiders. This was undoubtedly Rivers' experience, and so his failure to find out about the matrilineal sibs, even [114] though he got the word poʃjoɪʃ, is to be explained.

On the whole, then, examination of the song-passages where matrilineal sibs are mentioned convinces me that the key-passage to an understanding of the conventional song-pair poʃjoɪʃ, oɪtoɪʃ did not turn up in the many texts that I recorded. This was my frequent experience in recording songs and interpreting the song-language. In many cases a pair can have originated in one context only and was then transferred, sometimes violently, to other contexts where it did not quite fit. If it did not fit but was used only in an allusive manner, it was usually impossible to get at a literal meaning. Occasionally the original context would be found in a song only after dozens of instances had occurred in which the words were badly fitted. In the case of the phrase under discussion the original context has not turned up. We may suspect that an account in a song of the path of the dead might contain the key-passage, and yet such accounts occur in the material to the number of half a dozen, none containing the desired passage. Moreover, as has been seen above in the discussion of the prose passage, the pair poʃjoɪʃ, oɪtoɪʃ may have been imported into it from the songs and certainly is not a good fit in its context.

614 It is clear however from the song-passages, the prose passage, and the refusal of noɪṛṇɯs to give information that the essential element in the attitude of the Todas to the matrilineal 835 sibs is one of shame and embarrassment. And yet we are not much further in our understanding of the psychology of the matter. The best guess on the reason for the difference of attitude towards the patrilineal sibs and the matrilineal sibs is that, while incestuous relations are forbidden within both types of sibs, the latter, as the one containing one's mother and sisters, is the one where incest comes closest home. In Toda culture the crucial relations are part of a larger division which is worked intimately into the entire social structure of the

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[11] This word is borrowed ultimately from Sanskrit kārya-.

But, since they

174 speak a Dravidian language, closely allied with Kannaḍa and Tamil, and more closely, as I
judge provisionally, with Kannaḍa, it seems profitable to look to a generalized South Indian
614 background as a basis for the highly specialized and aberrant Toda culture forms. We find
[197] at once that the generalized South Indian culture background includes exogamous patrilineal
sibs with marriage forbidden also within the matrilineal line to degrees that vary from community to community.[16] There is no record of fully developed exogamous matrilineal sibs
in the large area until we reach the Malabar region on the southwest coast of India. There
we find in some caste-communities matrilineal descent to the exclusion of patrilineal. Rivers
[114] was inclined on a number of grounds to uphold the hypothesis that the Todas in very early
times migrated to the Nilgiris from Malabar.[17] Practically all of his pieces of evidence prove
invalid.

197 It was a wild guess that the Toda language is closely related to Malayalam, and the fact
that some of the diviners of the Todas undoubtedly do speak a very fragmentary Malayalam
174 during their performances is irrelevant. The diviners speak the language of the god by whom
they are possessed; the god who inspires most of the Toda diviners has his temple in the
[791] Wynaad among a Malayalam-speaking population. It was suggested[18] that the model house
[787] or dairy used in the uɪr-foʈt ceremony, and called poɪl-poɬj (Rivers' pülpali), has some connection with the tamarind juice used in a Nair ceremony. Linguistically this is impossible;
the Toda word for tamarind (pyɬj) has no possible connection.

174 Toda polyandry was connected with the various types of polyandry formerly, and in
some castes still, practised in Malabar. Much more investigation is needed in Malabar be-
595 fore comparison can be made safely between the institutions. It has been the experience of
[114] ethnologists in India that no summary accounts of communities hitherto published can be
trusted. Even the best of them, such as the various *Castes and Tribes* volumes, are highly
untrustworthy. Since in Malabar, polyandry is combined with matrilineal descent, the situation is undoubtedly oriented differently from that of the Todas, and a study of the total
configuration in Malabar castes should be made before comparisons are entered upon. Fur-
[171] thermore, Toda polyandry needs to be reexamined in the light of the fact that the Kotas
of the Nilgiris have been found to practise a special type of fraternal polyandry.[19]

174 The toɪʈjfoj or "lover-mistress" institution (Rivers' mokhthoditi) is on the whole so
unlike the marriages between the younger sons of Nambutiri Brahmans and Nair women
837 that use of the superficial and strained resemblance is highly unprofitable.

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[16] I base this statement partly on the literature (not all the pertinent facts are to be found there), partly on my own investigations (which were thorough among the Coorgs, an account of whose regulations will be found in my paper *Kinship and Marriage among the Coorgs* [Journal, Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters, Vol. 4, pp. 123–47, 1938]; sketchy enquiries were made on several other communities). The point, I think, is of more fundamental importance for the understanding of South Indian ethnology than that about cross-cousin
[114] marriage, which Rivers treated in *The Marriage of Cousins in India* (Journal, Royal Asiatic Society, pp. 611–40, 1907).

[17] Pp. 693–718, especially pp. 698 ff.

[18] Rivers, p. 702.

[19] D. G. Mandelbaum, *Polyandry in Kota Society* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 40, pp. 574–83, 1938).

The giving of cloths in various Toda ceremonies was compared with cloth-giving cere- 174
monies in Malabar. It will be found, however, as Rivers recognized,[30] that giving of cloths,
both in marriage ceremonies and otherwise, is very general throughout India. No stress 431
should be laid on this detail until and unless further investigations of other Indian communi- 171
ties warrant it. So also with the breaking of pots at funerals; it is not confined to the Todas
and the Malabar coast.

The use of poles and boxes at funerals, of cowries, and of leaf-umbrellas, all of these being 174
obtained from Malabar, is hardly more than the use of trade-objects, and is probably to be
regarded as an example of diffusion of comparatively unessential material objects. The place 439
of origin does not matter in the case of the cowries and the umbrellas; they have now been 177
replaced by glass beads and European-type umbrellas respectively. It is doubtful whether
the place of origin has any significance in the case of the other objects.

The Toda munds at Gudalur are well known in tradition as recent foundations; they 361
have now been abandoned. The origin of some sacred buffaloes in the Wynaad, i.e. the same 778
general area between the Nilgiris and Malabar, is paralleled by the origin of other sacred 231
buffaloes on the Coimbatore, i.e. the Tamilian, plains on the other side of the Nilgiris.

It is evident then that the Malabar origin for the Todas and their customs favored by
Rivers is untenable.[31] The Toda matrilineal sibs, which were unknown to Rivers, could 114
have been used by him to bolster up his hypothesis, but it would have proved to be of no 174
more value than his other evidence. It is clear that the general South Indian situation
sketched above provides a sufficient basis for the Toda developments. The South Indian 614
exogamous patrilineal sib has retained full vigor among the Todas. The exogamous tendencies of the matrilineal line which work in varying degrees in all South Indian communities have been developed among the Todas into full-fledged exogamous matrilineal sibs, probably on the model of the patrilineal sibs and facilitated by the small size of the tribe. We have here nothing more than an isolated local development, easily derivable from a general cultural feature of South India. The resemblance to the Malabar matrilineal communities is only superficial, for there the patrilineal units, if they originally existed, have been entirely superseded by the matrilineal units.

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[30] Rivers, p. 700.

[31] Rivers also toyed with Coorg as a source for Toda customs, basing this partly on linguistic, partly on ethnological grounds. It may be mentioned here that the polyandry alleged for the Coorgs, if it ever existed, seems to have left no trace either verbally or in relic-institutions, so far as I was able to discover in eight months of linguistic work in Coorg. The linguistic grounds given by Rivers (p. 114) for Toda knowledge of the Coorgs are incorrect. The Todas call the plains at the foot of the Nilgiris, i.e. to the south, east, and northeast, kö·ŋg. This is etymologically connected with Kota koŋg in the same meaning, Tamil koŋku "the Tamil country comprising the districts of Coimbatore, Salem, and a portion of Mysore," in effect the same area as that meant by the Toda and Kota words, Kannaḍa koŋgu with the same meaning as the Tamil word, Malayalam koŋŋu (no dictionary is accessible for the meaning). Rivers understood at least one instance of the Toda word as being equivalent to the English word Coorg. This is impossible. "Coorg" represents the Kannaḍa koḍagu, which cannot be connected with Toda kö·ŋg and its cognates. The Todas have no knowledge of the Coorg country or of its inhabitants.

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Formal salutations are not used by a man to his female cross-cousins, or to any woman not related to him in a patrilineal or matrilineal sib, by marriage, or by a "lover-mistress" relation; nor by a woman to her male cross-cousins, or to any man not related to her in a patrilineal or matrilineal sib, by marriage, or by a "lover-mistress" relation.

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There is an unfortunate omission in my material; it is not known how a man addresses his brother's wife and how a woman addresses her sister's husband. Husband-wife terms seem more probable than brother-sister terms, but the point needs to be investigated.

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A further note should be added on the words mox and kuːx. It will be seen that in reference the simplex terms mox = "son" (sometimes extended in a collective sense "children") and kuːx = "daughter," and that as final members of terms they denote "male" and "female" respectively, but that in address neither is used in this sense, while kuːxjaː in address = "wife." Further, toɣmox "wife" is a combination of toɣ·, not otherwise found, and mox (the first element must be descriptive of the second, i.e. it is the wife who is some kind of mox). Kuːx is used in texts often to mean "young woman." In the songs a wife is addressed, usually when a husband laments her death, with the vocative ɯɑoxuːxjaː, containing kuːx; a husband, usually when a wife laments his death, with a vocative ɯɑmoxjaː, containing mox. Any child is addressed in songs with the pair: enmoxubaː, enmarjubaː, containing mox in the meaning "child" and, equated with it, marj which in prose means "offspring of animal (except buffalo) or bird." From a Toda point of view the basic meaning of kuːx is probably "female" or perhaps "young female," all the other meanings developing from that. Mox is much more intractable, though the meaning "child, especially male child" may possibly be basic. The term ɯɑmoxjaː "husband!" could possibly have been derived from a practise whereby the wife adopted her mother-in-law's usage, but the conditions certainly do not exist in present-day usage, and on the whole such an explanation is dubious. Toɣmox would still be unexplained and will remain so until the prior element is explained.

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CHAPTER 3

THE POLYANDRY OF THE TODAS OF THE NILGIRIS

114 It has often been said that the Todas are the best known aboriginal community in the world. Every general treatise on anthropology is supposed to make at least a passing reference to them, and it is certainly true that data concerning them in very widely quoted in ethnological literature the world over. This, to a large extent, is due to the excellent work done among them by that distinguished British anthropologist, the late Dr W. H. R. Rivers. His book, *The Todas* (see Bibliography), is a classic on the subject, and its voluminous contents cover to a remarkable degree all those aspects of their culture which it was possible to investigate with the contemporary ethnographical means at the disposal of the author. Since then, much progress has been made in this field, and, as I was able to note when with the Todas, the store of information which they can offer is still very far from being exhausted. From this point of view, as from many others, they are truly a most remarkable people, worthy of continued anthropological attention.

[127] During my first visit to the Nilgiris, my time was mostly taken up with making the acquaintance of the tribe. I read Rivers on the spot and looked into the polyandry of the people in a general fashion. I also got to know the neighbouring inhabitants, without a knowledge of whom it is difficult to acquite a proper functional picture of Toda culture, so closely is the latter bound up with that of others, especially in ceremonial and economic matters. On my return, ten years later, I delved more deeply into polyandry, and, in order to get a thorough working knowledge of this form of the marriage institution as practised by the Nilgiri tribe, made a specialized study of one single family, in which two successive generations of men had had quite a considerable number of children born in this type of wedlock.

[128] In this chapter, on the polyandry of the Todas of the Nilgiris, I shall deal first with the general study which I made in 1939, and follow on

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with the special study that is the result of my second visit to south India in 1949. 114 128

A. GENERAL STUDY: THE TODAS OF THE NILGIRIS

A general study of the culture of the Todas of the Nilgiris has been presented so well by Dr W. H. R. Rivers in his book that it is quite unnecessary to repeat it here. Readers who are interested in getting to know these people thoroughly are referred to the work, which they will find quite absorbing reading.

In the following paragraphs I propose to give only an outline of the principal traits of Tota culture so that what follows should be intelligible. Some of the Toda institutions are so unique, or as we would say anthropologically, aberrant, that it is absolutely essential to have at least some idea of what they are like in order to understand the nature of the whole. 128

I will, therefore, first give this outline of Toda culture with a brief description of the habitat and social organisation of the tribe, and go on next, in a second paragraph to describe those customs of the Todas which, in my opinion, have a direct bearing on their institution of polyandrous marriage. Being by inclination functionalist in anthropological outlook, I can quite see that their marriage customs are linked to the entirety of their culture, and even, to some extent, to those of their immediate neighbours, with whom their ties are very close. But it would be too long and too complex to attempt to give so vast a picture of the whole intricate and inter-related pattern, and I would ask my readers to content themselves with the choice of those items of culture which I consider relevant in this connection. [182]

A third paragraph, before we go on to the special study of one Toda polyandrous family, which I reserve for Part B of this section, will deal more closely with Toda polyandry, treating in a general description, all those aspects of it which I was able to gather during my first stay in the Nilgiris in 1939.

1. DESCRIPTIVE OUTLINE

The mountainous district of the Nilgiris is part of the State of Madras, in south India. The name, which means "Blue Mountains" in Sanskrit, is derived from the fact that, seen from the plains, the nearly 9,000 133

In religion, the Todas are definitely not Hindu. They do go on 771 pilgrimage to Hindu shrines, and their diviners have some sort of esoteric contact with temples in Malabar. But the Toda faith is not of the orthodox Hindu kind, and their gods have quite different names [776] and natures.[1]

Today, the Toda gods are very hazy figures. What has happened is 776 that with the passage of time, ritual has come to play so important a part in religious practices, that a clear conception of the deities is now [178] quite beyond the Todas. From the elders whom I questioned (especially Ujar, 48)[2] – they are the only persons who know something [115] about this nowadays – I obtained, however, information concerning an intricate and rich mythology. This describes an early period in which the gods moved freely with men in the Nilgiris. [773] They led the same kind of pastoral life as the latter do today, caring for their herds of buffaloes and processing their milk in their dairy-temples. Only some of these gods are reputed to be still present on the plateau, each living on the summit of a distinctive hill.

It will not be necessary to enlarge here upon the Toda religion. [114] Rivers' account of it, to which readers are again referred, is, broadly speaking, accurate and exhaustive, and will be enough to give a very good idea of its nature. The principal gods most frequently mentioned by the Todas and about whom it will be sufficient to know in the present connection are the following: 1) *Ön*, the Lord of the Underworld (*Amnor*) to which he retired after a long period in the Nilgiris; while he was still living there, he created, together with his wife, *Pinakursh*, men (*Olkh* = Todas) as well as the Toda sacred buffaloes; 2) *Terkish*, the sister of Ön; she is by far the leading Toda deity, amounting to a protective tribal mother-goddess, of whom you hear continually; she is reputed to have stayed behind in the Nilgiris when Ön retired to Amnor; she has her earthly residence at the summit of a [103] hill called Tödhut near Ootacamund; the Todas say that she is, however, omnipresent, to be found anywhere in the world; in their language, the Blue Mountains are called after her, *Terkishnor*, or the land of Terkish.

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[1] During my last stay in the Nilgiris, it was my good fortune to discover [174] what appeared to me to be eleven Sumerian deities among the six hundred or so gods and goddesses which compose the Toda pantheon, something which would go to indicate a very early cultural connection indeed with the world of Antiquity (*Possible Sumerian Survivals in Toda Ritual*, by the same author, see Bibliography).

[2] Whenever a Toda name is followed by a number such as here, the latter [128] refers to the corresponding genealogical table in *The Todas*, by W. H. R. Rivers.

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economy is not a poor one, and the standard of living of the tribe is 511
quite definitely higher than that of the average plainsman.

The dairyman with the Todas is the priest, and his processing of 234
the milk produced by the sacred animals into butter and buttermilk is [793]
looked upon as a religious act. Ths takes place in specially constructed
buildings which are dairies and temples at the same time. They are [343]
known by the generic term of *polkhthli*, and their degree of sanctity
varies proportionally to the type of buffalo which they serve. Thus the 346
highest dairy-temples are called *ti* (where *tiir* are cared for), the lowest [778]
tarvali (which is the *mad*'s, serving ordinary buffaloes or *putir*), and
there are such intermediate ones as *wursuli* (for the *wursulir*), *kurpali*
(for the *nodrovair*) and *kugvali* (for the *kugvalir*).

To each of these herds of buffaloes and to their corresponding 234
dairy-temple, there is a priest-dairyman, who alone is allowed to milk 793
the animals and process their milk in accordance with an ancient ritual,
which consists mainly in the recital of stereotyped formulae, called [788]
kwarshm. The *ti* and *tiir* are served by a *palol*, who is highest ranking
priest of the tribe, assisted by a *kaltmokh*; the *tarvali* or village dairy-temple is in charge of a *tarvalikartmokh*, while the *wursuli*, *kurpali*
and *kugvali* have respectively a *wursol*, a *kurpalikartmokh* and a *kugvalikartmokh*. These priests are subjected to very strict rules of behaviour and ritual purity, and are recognizable at once by the black [292]
cloak of office which they wear, the *tuni*. The *palol* at the *ti* alone has
to milk the very holy *tiir*, completely naked, except for a diminutive
perineal band, the *kuvn* – no mean feat during the winter, in the cold
and rarefied atmosphere at nearly 8,000 feet.

The Toda tribe, very homogeneous, consisting only of men and 616
women of that name, is divided into two patrilineal, respectively en- 104
dogamous moieties, that of the Tardharsh and that of the Teivilkh. I 114
am purposely spelling these names at variance with the orthography of
W. H. R. Rivers, because it appears to me closer this way to the
manner in which the Todas pronounce them. Other words in this
chapter which do not conform to the fashion in which the author of
The Todas writes them are purposely spelt differently so as to be in
keeping with what seemed to me a more faithful phonetic rendering of
Toda speech.

The tribe considers the Tardharsh moiety as superior to the Teivilkh, 616
and gives higher social status to the members of the former; in what 554
follows, there will be numerous examples of this discrimination, which
is continually encountered by anyone having anything to do with the

616 Todas. Of the two divisions, it is the inferior one, that of the Teivilkh,
554 which is the smallest. Rivers looked upon it as made up of later arrivals in the Nilgiris who were relegated to a subordinate position by the dominant Tardharsh (see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 691).

234 Priests of the high dairy temples, who, appointed to special offices
616 which are not given to the ordinary *mad* dwellers, and in which they take it in turns to serve the village *tarvali*, are always chosen exclusively
793 from the Teivilkh moiety. As an explanation of this apparent paradox,
[554] I was told that, despite the high ritual position which, for example, a *palol* occupies, he enjoys no superior social status, and is even looked upon generally as a servant of the tribe, fulfilling a necessary but definitely unenviable, strenuous and lonely occupation.

614 Within each moiety,, there are patrilineal clans (or patrilineages) called *modol* (from *mad*, "village", and *olkh*, "man') and matrilineal descent groups (or matrilineages) which are known by the name of *polkhliol* (from *polkhthli*, "dairy-temple" and *olkh*, "man"). The Todas
[611] observe dual descent, and are very strict about it, especially in what concerns the exogamous rules which apply to each of these groups.
[582] They are particularly careful not to marry into the *polkhliol*, and will go to great lengths to avoid doing so, in order to remain on the safe side of this interdiction.

[114] The span of both paternal clans and maternal descent groups varies considerably and readers are referred to Rivers book *The Todas* for an account of the *modol* (see p. 643 and following), and to my own publication *The Mothersibs of the Todas of the Nilgiris* (see Bibliography) for the *polkhliol*.

614 There are thirteen patrilineal clans and five matrilineal descent
616 groups among the Tardharsh. Their names are as follows, classified according to the importance which the tribe gives to each of them:

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modols

1. Karsh
2. Norsh
3. Tarar
4. Mörorl or Pan
5. Kiaror
6. Nirkh
7. Konnorj
8. Unkiti
9. Kwordhoel

polkhliols

1. Pirsh or Nör
2. Kwoten-Pöldh
3. Ontö
4. Kon
5. Pöth

modols 614

10. Melgarsh 616
11. Pam or Pirspurs 554
12. Kidmad 564
13. Melgarsh outcastes sometimes
also known as Karsh

The Teivilkh, the moiety of lower social status, has seven paternal clans and also five maternal ones, bearing the following names, which I give here too in order of what Todas consider greater importance:

modols

1. Kuur
2. Omgarsh or Kusharf
3. Pietari
4. Kiötar
5. Kulkhem
6. Kiemen
7. Kwadenor (who are Kuur outcastes)

polkhliols

1. Nonkothkparl
2. Peffwitkoli
3. Putkoiven
4. Migmoktueratvoi
5. Arakködjittudyurillovoy (Strictly speaking these are nicknames and not actual names, the latter not being known any longer).

Elders of the tribe know the genealogies of each individual many 173
generations back (see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 461 and following). This 887
is essential in order to avoid prohibited marriages, and, because the
Todas are illiterate, the knowledge is memorized and expounded orally, 582
as is the case among other peoples in this condition.

Political organization within the tribe is rudimentary. Each *modol* 642
has a headman who is usually the eldest of the lineage. The Toda 614
tribe as a whole, including both moieties, has a chief, the headman of
the leading Karsh clan of the Tardharsh, known as the *Tuni-ngani-* 622
potvayiar, whose temporal powers are very limited, but whose religious [793]
ones are slightly more considerable (for a fuller account of these, see
The Todas: Some Additions and Corrections to W. H. R. Rivers's [114]
Book, as Observed in the Field, by the same author, see Bibliography).
The Toda god, Ön, is believed to have been the first holder of this [173]
office, and the present members of the Karsh *modol* are supposed to
descend directly from this deity through Ponetan, his son, and Karsh [776]
and Konari, his grandson and great-grandson.

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562 ears pierced ceremonially, this again being reserved exclusively for men, for whom the utilitarian motive of the ritual seems to be completely non-existent. Toda boys put on the *kuvn* (perineal band) when
291 they are five years old. The girls are given their wraps at the age of
858 three. Children are separated from each other in accordance with their sex when, at eight, they start their respective social occupations.

It will be apparent from the above that members of the male sex
562 receive preferential treatment among the Todas. This is something which strikes the observer at once, the advantageous social role of the men being very much in contrast to the subordinate one of the women. Nevertheless, it cannot be said that representatives of the female sex are, on the whole, badly treated. On the contrary, they have a free and easy look about them, and are, as a rule, well-cared for by their men folk. It is merely evident that they suffer from some very distinct social disabilities.

462 Thus Toda women are expected to deal with such household duties
562 as pounding the grain in the house, sifting it, sweeping out the hut, making the *ertüḷkh* or sleeping platform and seat inside the *arsh* with cow-dung and mud, mending clothes and sometimes embroidering. They are also in charge of cooking, although Rivers thought, errone-
[252] ously, that they could not deal with this domestic duty. They may also
[234] milk the ordinary buffaloes or *putir*, something which Rivers also
[114] mistakenly denies. There are, on the other hand, a number of feminine "musts'. A Toda woman is obliged to greet all male relatives by
[576] putting her head under the man's feet in what is known as the *kalmel-*
[487] *pudithtl* salutation. When she goes back and forth from the *mad*, she is compelled to follow a special path, the *majvatitthkalvol*, and may not use the ordinary one taken by men and outsiders. A stone, the *majvatvaiirn*, marks the point nearest to the dairy-temple at which she
[234] must stop. It is here that butter-milk (*maj*) is distributed to the womenfolk every evening at sunset by the dairy priests. They must
[841] not handle it, furthermore, when they are menstruating.

562 Woman may only exceptionally enter temples at funerals when the body of a man rests in the ante-chamber. They are excluded from
784 most religious ceremonies and at the yearly procession through the village of Kiur, they must vacate the *mad* completely before its arrival. Women are not allowed to attend the sacred buffaloes (*postir*), or even to approach their pens. They may not drink their milk and are only allowed the buttermilk and the butter after it has been processed by the dairyman-priest. They cannot cross the dairy's stream (*palı nipü*),

sacred rivers in general, nor climb holy hillocks upon which gods are 562
supposed to live. They are not entitled to practise sorcery (I never 784
came across a case of them doing so), to eat parts of the sacrificed
calf of the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony (Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 274), to
approach the spot where buffaloes are killed at funerals (for fear that
they should see the bell of the temple upon which they are not allowed
to set eyes), to attend the ceremony of offering a buffalo calf to a
ti-mad called *irnörtit* (op. cit. p. 293); Teivilkh women are, besides, [616]
not permitted ever to visit the *mads* of the Tardharsh division. [621]

The inferior status of women is further emphasized by sexual privi- 616
leges connected with the office of the Teivilkh priests. Thus, the 793
tarvalikartmokh has unrestricted access whenever he wishes to all
women of the *mad* at which he is serving, even though these may be 837
Tardharsh, that is, whom, normally, as members of the lower moiety,
he may not approach. The *kurpalikartmokh* can sleep with the
Tardharsh women of his choice, but only on Sundays, Wednesdays,
and Saturdays. The *wursol* may do the same on Sundays and Wednes-
days only, and may not have any relations during the time that he is [834]
priest with any Teivilkh women, not even his wife if he is married.
The *palol* of the *ti* may cohabit with the Tardharsh woman that he
wants (from any *mad*) outside the precincts of the *ti-mad*, but within
the sanctified territory, that is, in practice, in the *sholas* only (Rivers [114]
denies this, but I have confirmed it in *The Todas, Some Additions and
Corrections to W. H. R. River's Book, Observed in the Field*, see
Bibliography).

Todas prefer men to women to such a degree that female infanticide 562
was, and is still to some extent, practised in the tribe, something to [847]
which we shall have occasion to revert further on. Toda society is a
patriarchal one, in which the men are dominant and in which they
treat their women, as most polyandrous people do, as their property.
This belies the deceptive appearance of freedom which the females
give on first acquaintance, an appearance which one very soon learns
to appreciate at its true value when one gets to know the tribe better.

After adult marriage the bride always takes up her residence with 591
her husband or husbands as the case may be, no known case of uxori-
local dwelling having ever taken place. She becomes a member of his 614
or their *modol*, giving the latter a territorial appearance. At the same
time she ceases to belong to her maiden one, but continues nevertheless 618
to be part of her own *polkhliol*. Inheritance is always exclusively 428
through the male line, the father's or fathers' brothers, the next of kin 614

586 Rivers says that a man may divorce his wife for only two reasons, namely, either that she is a fool or that she will not work. He adds, however, that illness of the husband has also sometimes been regarded as a ground for divorce (Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 525).

But from my field-work in the Nilgiris, I gathered that the only real
reason for a man wanting to be legally separated from his wife, was
[837] that she had co-habited with a non-Toda. He would then take one of
[684] his male buffaloes, tie a coconut shell round its neck in the presence
of the *noim* which he had called together for that purpose. He would
[623] next cut off his wife's hair, beat her publicly, and end up by driving
her together with the buffalo back to the house of his parents-in-law.
I never actually saw this happen, but was assured on good authority
[115] (Kanvarsathi, Ujar (48), Sriar (20), Öknarsh (8) and Piliar (52)) that
this was how it was done.

881 616 Before Toda girls reach the age of puberty, before their first menses, two things have to take place. First the ceremony called *putkuli tazar utiti* ("cloak over he puts") is performed. In it, a man of the opposite moiety to that of the girl (Teivilkh if she be Tardharsh, and vice-versa), comes to the *mad* at which she lives, during the day, lies down beside her on the *ertülkh* of her *arsh* for a few minutes and puts his *putkuli* over both her and himself.

881 A fortnight later, if a Tardharsh, she will have to be deflowered by
616 a Teivilkh, and if a member of the latter, inferior, moiety, by some-
body from the opposite one (Rivers has "a man of strong physique",
833 which is not accurate enough, see *The Todas*, p. 503). It is looked
604 upon as a great shame for a girl to start menstruating before this has
124 been done, which reminds me of what Duarte Barbosa says about
Nayar virgins (see above, p. 170). I was naturally most intrigued by
[114] this belief, and, as Rivers alludes only in passing to the custom and
does not offer any explanation, I decided to try and find out for myself
what the reason for it could possibly be.

Naturally this was no easy task, as people were too shy to speak about it, but I pressed Ujar (48) to speak for over a month, considering him to be the man, because of his age, standing and disposition towards me, the most liable to talk. I gave him presents such as a bag of rice, a buffalo calf and spectacles, but still he was reticent, and I could see that, although he wanted to confide the secret to me in return, he was afraid to do so. Finally I elucidated from him that his apprehension came from the fact that he feared that should he speak in the Nilgiris, the gods would wreak punishment upon him. I decided,

therefore, to take him right away, and on the 3rd of August, 1939, 881
drove him down to the plains, near Mettupalaiyam, in order to question 616
him far away from his hills. 833

I stopped at the side of the road when we had reached level ground, 604
and, through Kanvarsathi – who was, incidentally, as curious as I to
find out – requested him, now that we were out of *Terkish nor* (the 124
land of Terkish), to speak. His answer was well worth the trouble I had taken, for he immediately replied, quite unexpectedly I must say, that unless this is done, "the maternal uncle of the girl will die".

I immediately pressed him for more. Why was it so, I asked, and how could such a thing have anything to do with the safety of the *mun?* He did not know, he said, it was just like that, and people had, of course, to guard themselves against this danger. To my next question as to what the maternal uncle could do to save himself if by
any chance defloration had not taken place in this traditional way, he [302]
replied that he would still be safe if he could get hold of the girl and
shave all her hair off.

This talk with Ujar (48) later led me to a number of psychoanalytical [114]
speculations in an attempt to make sense out of what he told me, and
in the course of lectures on the subject to various specialized bodies, interesting discussions on this point have taken place. I shall give an account of these in the publication which I am planning for later, on the psychological findings of my research (see Introduction, p. 15).

Although the rules of endogamy within the two moieties of the Toda 616
tribe, the Tardharsh and the Teivilkh, are very strictly observed, a
regular system of concubinage and cicisbeism exists between them, 837
organized as though to get round the difficulty. This is known as the [595]
mokhthoditi institution and it is an established feature of Toda social organization.

The origin of the custom, which is not restricted to inter-moiety [773]
cicisbeism and concubinage in practice, although it is so in principle, is
said to be mythological. The god Kulinkarsh was the lover of the goddess Notirsh, without being married to her. The partners of the *mokhthoditi* are known respectively, the man as *mokhthodvaiol* ("the man who keeps the child"), and the woman as *sedvaitazmokh* ("the woman who joins the child"). It would probably be more correct to put these in the plural, since nothing theoretically really limits the number of persons to be joined in this way. In fact, however, the relation appears always to be between single individuals only.

There are two different ways in which the liaison is carried on.

had both received pieces of cloth from the cicisbeo of their wife. 837 [431]

So ingrained in Toda customs is the *mokhthoditi* institution that somebody who died without having either a *mokhthodvaiol* or a *sedvaitazmokh* would have to have one appointed after death so as to [764] fill the place reserved for that person at the funeral rites. For cicisbei have an important function to fulfil on this occasion, and no ceremony would be complete without it. It is significant that a brother of the woman's husband is preferred in the case of such a posthumous appointment.

At the cremation of Ling Mish (23, called after Miss C. F. Ling!), 837 a Tarar woman married to a man of the Norsh *modol*, on the 27th 764 July, 1939, I saw her cicisbeo, a Teivilkh, come forward at the moment when her body had been prepared to be laid on the pyre, and insert with his left hand some limes, three handfuls of the grain which the Todas call *patcherski* (samai), jaggery, a piece of the dark *ün* cloth, and the strings (*penor*) of his own *kuvn*, into the pocket of the deceased's *putkuli*. I was told that had she not had a lover, another man of the Teivilkh moiety would have been chosen to carry out this last rite it being essential to do so. Rivers says that the *mokhthodvaiol* [301] should go to the funeral with his ring on the ring-finger of his left hand. He should make the *kalmelpudithi* salutation to the woman's father before the buffaloes have been caught, and afterwards insert the symbolic objects into his dead mistress's garment with his left hand – as if to mark that his relations with her were really *de la main gauche*. In the case of a man dying, exactly the same rites will be carried out by his *sedvaitazmokh*, except that she will not make obeisance to the man's father; her brothers will in her stead (see *The Todas*, p. 366).

The Todas always make a point of saying that they may not have 648 any sexual relations, even clandestine, with non-Todas, and we have seen that a divorce from a woman can be sought for if she has been 837 convicted of such an offence. It is, I was told, a particularly heinous [834] crime for a Toda woman to have intercourse with someone not be- [684] longing to the tribe. In this way, we are led to believe, Toda racial stock has been kept "pure" throughout the centuries, and I have even [143] heard it said by Indian physical anthropologists that the tribe is of a degenerate physical type, because there is too much intermarriage, and "the genes do not circulate enough".

And yet it seems that with the Muduga tribe of the Walluvanad taluk in Malabar there exists a definite institutionalised sexual relation based upon the hereditary friendship of some Todas with a few leading [114]

648 families among the Mudugas. This has been clearly brought out by
837 Professor C. von Fürer-Haimendorf in a short note published on his
[114] findings in Malabar (see *Man*, Vol. LIV, Feb. 1954, art. 24).

According to what he writes, those village headman at Pottikal who have a traditional friendship with certain Todas receive the latter at least once a year in their homes for several days. Each of them vacates his house completely, leaving, however, his wife to look after the Todas (usually brothers) who then assume the role of "husbands" towards her. In return, when the Muduga headman pays back the visit at the *mad* of his same Toda friends, he has access to their wife and sleeps with her as long as he is staying in the Nilgiris. Neither of the parties
[842] apparently believes that conception can result from such passing intercourse, which perhaps accounts for the tolerance shown by the Todas towards their women's sexual relations with a stranger. I feel sure, however, that it would be impossible to discover anything about this practice from the Nilgiri tribe itself, and it is certainly due to the fact that Professor von Fürer-Haimendorf was working among the Mudugas and not among the Todas that he was able to hear of its existence at all.

838 I enquired repeatedly about homosexuality during my two visits to the Todas, and kept my eyes open for any evidence of it. My questions on this subject seemed to provoke merriment, and the men would usually laugh when interrogated about it. As far as I could make out, there does not seem to be much proclivity towards it, either among men or women. While with the latter I could record no case at all, even from hearsay, with the other sex at least there seemed to be some reason to believe that Tilipa (12) of the Karsh *modol* was inclined that way. A pleasant old man, with long curls and an effeminate manner,
[684] he was reputed to have been caught a number of times with men
[623] younger than himself, to the intense amusement of the tribe, and to have been fined by the *noim* for this misdemeanour. He was married to a masterful, viriloid woman, who bossed him about in no uncertain manner, and from whom he had "had" four fine sons. It was whispered, however, that he was only the legal father, having given the bow and arrow for them, while another was their physiological sire.

158 Neurosis was a question very difficult to go into, working as I was
828 through an interpreter, and having no means by which to delve very deeply into the individual psyche. Here too, appearances seem to show that there was little of it about, the complex social organisation of the tribe affording plenty of outlets for the feelings, emotions and drives of ill-adapted persons. Pangur, son of Pillar (52), however, was a case

595 her by Wunkwur. Kanvarsathi assured me that there were other such non-fraternal cases in outlying *munds*, but I did not come across any.

My impression was that the polyandry of the Todas is tending more and
114 more to be restricted only to real brothers, in the way we use that word.
595 Rivers in his book does mention a number of instances in which non-brothers, not even classificatory, are married to the same woman (see *The Todas*, pp. 515–516), but although I searched for some, I was unable to find any in existence today. Rivers already remarked in his time: "It is possible that at one time the polyandry of the Todas was not so strictly 'fraternal' as it is at present." (*The Todas*, p. 516.)

Rivers' description of the marriage of *matchuni* seems to imply that such weddings are monogamous, (see *The Todas*, pp. 512–513). I enquired about this when in the Nilgiris, and was told that it was not necessarily, although admittedly generally, so. There have been recorded cases of polygamous unions of this type, both polygynous and polyandrous, the latter being, rather naturally with the Todas, the more usual of the two. My informants could not take me to see any such case existing at the time, but assured me that they had known some. There was nothing in Toda custom to forbid it, they assured me (see also, *The Todas, Some Additions and Corrections to W. H. R. Rivers' Book, Observed in the Field*, by the same author, see Bibliography).

648 Professor Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf has shown, in his short
837 note about *Heriditary Friendships and Inter-Tribal Sex relations between Todas and Mudugas* (see Bibliography), that such relations of the
[114] Todas with their Muduga hereditary friends are definitely not limited to one man, but include a number of brothers. In this case, of course, we are not dealing with a regular marriage. Inversely, the Muduga headman whom he mentioned has access to the common wife of the two Toda brothers who are his friends, whenever he pays back their call in the Nilgiris, although the Mudugas themselves, like most more primitive people, do not practise polyandry. The type of established, even institutionalized, sex relation described here, seems definitely to follow the Toda pattern and not the Muduga one.

595 About sixty per cent of the Todas are polyandrous. I did not actually take count of exactly how many there were, because as the community is continually in flux with regard to marital arrangements, principally because of the *terershti* institution, figures would not have meant very much anyhow. But Kanvarsathi worked it out that the number of polyandrous marriages must involve just about that percentage of the whole tribe's number, and I have no reason to doubt the accuracy of

to note that there "are many more irregular liaisons, not provided by 831
overt institutions, and indeed punishable by fines if discovered". Of [848]
course, with a system of child-marriage and of socially determined paternity through the *pursütpimi* ceremony, both of which to a large extent guard against the danger of illegitimate births, the fear of begetting children out of wedlock is much less than in other cultures, and consequently does not act as much as a deterrant here, with the Todas, as it would, I suppose, elsewhere.

In spite of careful questioning and observation, I could find no cases 833
of impotence with men or of frigidity with women. Kuriolv, as recorded earlier (see above, p. 259), was evidently an exception in this regard, but his was a physiological impotence, due to a past accident while catching a buffalo at a funeral, and cannot, therefore, be considered as contradicting these findings.

B. SPECIAL STUDY: MELGARSH

This special study of the Melgarsh mund of the Todas of the Nilgiris 114
has already been published in part in Drives, Affects, Behaviour, Edited by Rudolph M. Loewenstein, M.D. at the International Universities Press, Inc., New York, 1953. It is, however, elaborated in what follows with special emphasis on the anthropological description of polyandry within one family unit; observation of the children's behaviour is the subject of an addendum.

1. THE MELGARSH CLAN

The Melgarsh clan belongs to the Tardharsh moiety, but it differs in 614
many ways from the others of its kind. Because of this, it appeared to 616
W. H. R. Rivers as intermediate between Tardharsh and Teivilkh, and he even put the hypothesis forward, denied, however, by the Todas, that originally it may have belonged to the latter half of the tribe.

It is not necessary here to go into all the differences that put Melgarsh 614
at variance with the other Tardharsh clans; readers interested in the 554
subject are referred to Rivers' book. Suffice it to say that the Melgarsh people enjoy special privileges in connection with the dairy-temples – such as supplying *wursols* and *kaltmokhs* (the latter, attendants of the *tipalol*), taking food and buttermilk in the sacred enclosures of the *ti-mad* – the exclusive right of milking a buffalo to provide milk for a

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is not exactly the same for it is not an institutionalized form of marriage, the way the *tchamadoong* is in Tibet. A monk I met at Spitook, a monastery close to Leh in Ladak, told me that he knew five families with *tchamadoongs* in Gyantse. I have noted their names and hope to be able to study them on the spot.

Toda Polyandry. I shall now try to show how polyandry, as practiced by the Todas, differs radically from the Tibetan system. This is a worth-while consideration, for it shows how polyandry, though it is basically the same organization, can appear in different forms throughout the world.

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The Todas are probably the best-known primitive people in the world. Anthropologists mention them repeatedly. They live in the southern Indian hills, called Nilghiris, west of Madras. There are very few of them left, only about 600, and they were very well described by Doctor Rivers at the beginning of this century, though much could still be learned about them, as Rivers admits himself. He made many discoveries, but also made several mistakes. In his book, the chapter on religion tells the amusing story of some investigators who had been there before, who tried to note down the names of the various gods the Todas have in their shrines. One god has a very long name, which, to this author, seemed to be correct, but, as Rivers pointed out in his book, the words that appeared as the "name" really mean, in Toda, "Give me another rupee and I will tell you what this god is called." It is easy to understand what happened. I think that similar progress could be made in the investigation of Toda polyandry, but that Rivers did not go into it completely and sufficiently.

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Unfortunately, as I have said, the Todas are a dying-out people, there being only 600 left, of which only about 50 per cent are polyandrous, *i.e.*, a much smaller proportion than among the Tibetans. The Todas are divided into two main clans, a superior leading class called the Thartars, TODA AW60

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595 stinct and for the orderly social procreation
182 of offspring. Formally, it is more difficult
Ti to say why this institution has taken on this
595 curious appearance. As far as I know,
182 authors so far have been rather at a loss to
To
595 furnish a satisfactory explanation. Many,
182 of course, have been given, with a great
amount of variety in their choice.

To For instance, we are given historical
174 explanations. In India they say people
595 have been polyandrous for many centuries;
that there are indications, such as archaeo-
182 logical (about the Heftalite Huns, 6th c.
162 A.D.) and literary (the Indian epic poem,
K the Mahabarata), that the people in this
174 area, both Aryan and non-Aryan, were
595 polyandrous in antiquity. Economic rea-
sons for this have been given; *i.e.*, that the
182 country is poor, that nomadism among
162 Todas or Tibetans, in earlier times, per-
haps led to a polyandrous society in order
Ti to limit the number of children. Then,
174 demographical explanations have been
595 given, that there is an excess of males
182 over females in this society, and that they
have to be polyandrous for that reason.
162 For instance, the Todas practise female
[To 847] infanticide and this is given as a reason
for their polyandry. Their men drink a
lot of milk, and some people say that the
fact that they have more proteins in their
diet in this fashion produces more male
offspring than female. I do not pretend
to know how far this biological explanation is true. Sociological reasons have
also been given, namely, that the men
travel and have to leave one brother at
home with the wife (a reason which I
hinted at earlier). In east and south
India, the people known as the Nayars,
who once could also be called polyandrous,
had a very definite military organization
(somewhat like that of the Sikhs in the
north), and that has been given as a reason why a people is polyandrous: one
brother can always remain at home with
the wife while the other is away serving
with the colors.

To It seems to me that these explanations
114 are not sufficient. As far as the historical

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reasons are concerned, the Mahabarata epic is the only case of its kind in the whole of India. The Todas, when you ask why they are polyandrous, always say "Because we are the same people as those of the Mahabarata", but I am convinced that they have got this explanation from the anthropologists and not the other way around! As far as the economic reasons are concerned, these also seem to me insufficient, because there are people living in the same area, in the same physical environment, who are not polyandrous. Even the Tibetans, when they become Moslems, though their environment does not change, suddenly cease being polyandrous and live in the Islamic fashion. The rich Tibetans in central Tibet are also polyandrous, and obviously not for economic reasons.

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As regards the demographic reasons, the following statistics will show that there is not always an excess of males over females. In the Leh *tehsil* in Ladak, where I was, there are 14,760 men to 14,650 women, which is approximately equal. The excess of single women among the Tibetans (there are some left over, naturally, considering the number of brothers who have one wife) usually go into a monastery and become nuns. That is the way they solve their problem. The Todas, on the other hand, practise female infanticide, so that there are less women than men. However, back in Tibet, in the same town of Leh, one finds that the Hindus who live there number 36 men and 13 women, and yet they are monogamous. In southern India, there is a Moslem community known as the Moplahs, in which there are five men to one woman, and they are polygynous rather than polyandrous. Even in Europe, the Bulgars have 35,000 more men than women and yet, though they may have many faults, they certainly are not polyandrous.

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As far as the Todas are concerned, out of the 600-odd that exist, there are 340 men and 237 women, so that it really looks as if the reason given might be true in

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To would give the following interpretation
829 of the polyandrous systems found: It
595 seems to me that polyandry is "not necessarily
121 a primitive institutional form of
marriage, but that it is due to the psycho-
182 logical reaction of individuals living in
T communities subject to environmentally
poor and insecure economic conditions,
829 persisting, in the case of the Tibetans,
595 through isolation from other communities,
121 or, in the case of the Todas, as a type of
182 defense mechanism against invasion by
other cultures." I have not included the
K Tiyas in this definition because I do not
[121] know them sufficiently and would like to
go more thoroughly into their polyandry
before giving an interpretation of it.

Ti Now, if I take this definition, instance
595 by instance, I shall be able to interpret
114 exactly what I mean by it. When I first
say that polyandry is "not necessarily a
212 primitive institutional form of marriage,"
I mean that, for instance, the Tibetans are all literate and educated people, with whom you can speak quite freely, who have a very pronounced sense of reality and do not in any way seem like a primitive people. It thus looks as if polyandry were a system entirely outside of the usual evolutionary stages of marriage, in which anthropology puts the matriarchal before the patriarchal system.

To Next, I say that polyandry is "due to
595 the psychological reaction of individuals
living in communities subject to environ-
● 114 mentally poor and economically insecure
[182] conditions," by which I mean, living in a
[593] physical environment which leads to a
miserable economy. This economy makes
Ti them very interdependent, within each
595 family, upon the help of each other, and
this interdependence, in turn, which is
114 stressed very highly in these families be-
[182] cause of the necessity of sticking together
[593] under the difficult physical conditions,
calls for less aggression among the members of the family itself and among groups of them. It seems to me that this stress on the condemnation of aggression is such that even something approaching incest

To appears as less dangerous than aggression
595 among brothers. In fact, the balance between
aggression and love for one another
● 114 is upset in favor of love, and this is so
Ti effective that latent, repressed incestuous
595 strivings are forced out by an excuse, I
114 should say, of loving one another and are
less condemned than aggression between
brothers.

To I am convinced that it is this feeling
595 that finds its expression in the Tibetans
and Todas saying, "We are polyandrous
114 because we do not want to quarrel among
593 ourselves." (The Tibetans say that they
do not want the women to quarrel, by
Ti which indirectly they mean that, if the
595 women are quarreling, the men will have
114 to take sides and would quarrel. The
Todas are more definite about it and say
593 outright that they are polyandrous because
they do not want the brothers to quarrel.)
These people actually feel that a practice
of aggression, of rivalry between brothers
is more dangerous than the custom of sharing
one woman, which has led to the
establishment of a community in which it
has become compulsory to live in this
fashion.

To It is very characteristic of polyandrous
595 people that they insist on being polyandrous
and say it is immoral to be anything
114 else. In fact, this latent eruption of a
Ti repressed incestuous desire becomes an
obligation, which is very much in line with
595 the teachings of psychoanalysis; namely,
114 that a repressed desire becomes the basis
of a compulsion, in this case of an imposed
institution, which it would be difficult to
explain sociologically. Of course, these
incestuous obligations, as you might call
them, do not go as far as a father-son

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relation, but it seems to me that the *tchamadoong* system is so close to such a relation that again it could easily be explained in this way.

In the final instance, as I say, polyandry "persists through isolation, in the case of the Tibetans, and as part of a defense mechanism in the case of the Todas." The Tibetans are very isolated and do not come in contact with other peoples and, for that reason, the system is well preserved, though in the border region it is breaking down. I was much struck by the fact that people there do not like mentioning polyandry. They are shy about it and think it does not sound very nice to other people, while as one gets into the interior among real polyandrous people they are very proud of it and boast of it. In the case of Tocktock, which I mentioned before, the old man was surprised that other peoples were not polyandrous. As far as the Todas are concerned, they are cooped up in the mountains. They are hemmed in by other peoples who have other customs, but they still feel that they are the people of the Nilghiris, and that they are a superior race. In order to assert this, they stick very "nationalistically" to their customs, and I think polyandry persists among them as one of the symbols of their superiority.

000 I hope that this explanation of polyandry may sound convincing in spite of its mainly psychoanalytical approach. I think that the results of this first expedition were satisfactory, and thoroughly justify the desire for a second expedition to find out more about it, for there are many gaps that still need to be filled in, in order to complete the picture.

12:Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW11 Kerala

West Tibetans AJ4
Tibet AJ1
Toda AW60

WT 114

We were accompanied on the whole journey from Kulu by Dölma, the Gya-kar K'hampa daughter of Tsewang Norbu. With her came two male members of her family, and a former Tibetan monk from the monastery of Tashi Lumpo (*bKra-shis Lhun-po*) in Tsang (*gTsang*), in central Tibet. This man's name was Lobsang (*bLo-bZang*) and he proved as knowledgeable a guide concerning everything Tibetan as I could have wished for. Married since he had left the monastery, he and his wife brought their two boys along with them, the youngest being only just over five years of age. From Leh onwards, we exchanged Dölma's two male relatives for new, Ladaki caravaneers under one Tashi (*bKra-shis*), and it was this man and five of his friends who supplied me with the twenty five pack ponies which we used to carry our belongings from Leh in Ladak to Srinagar. Joseph Gergan accompanied us as far as Kargil.

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From our travelling companions I heard during our journey that there was much to study concerning polyandry in Tibet proper. They advised me to try to reach Lhasa and central Tibet if I could, assuring me that in the heart of the country there existed even stranger polyandrous customs than those we had seen on the fringes. They told me that Kalimpong, in the Darjeeling district of the Indian province of Bengal (then undivided), would be a good starting point. Taking their advice, after returning to Lahore from Srinagar in November, we set off in our car to cross practically the whole of northern India, arriving by road in Kalimpong just before Christmas, 1938.

In this very attractive town, situated at the beginning of the main Trade Route to central Tibet, I was able to gather much information concerning Tibetan customs and ways of life. So rewarding was the search and so pleasant did Kalimpong appear to us, that I resolved there and then to return some day for a longer stay. I also contacted those officials of the Government of India (then British) who were responsible for allowing foreign travellers into Tibet, and made arrangements for it to be possible for us to obtain permission to go to Lhasa when we next visited this part of the world. We then left for south India, to work among the Todas and the inhabitants of Malabar.

To 114

Our way lay over Calcutta, by train to Nagpur and Bombay, where I purchased a new car, having sold the old one in Calcutta on our way through. We made excursions to Poona, Goa and Hyderabad, and from there went on to Bezwada and Madras. After our visits to Pondicherry and places of archaelogical interest in the Tamil country, we motored up to the Nilgiris, taking a house for the summer of 1939, in Coonoor.

12:Peter E-5 (1939, 1949)1963 AW11 Kerala AW11
Toda AW60

T 114 It was from there that I made my first research work among the Todas and other hill tribes of the district.

K 114 In August, we descended to the south-west coast, passing through Mysore and Mercara in Coorg. We arrived in Tellicherry, in Malabar, at the end of the month, when the clouds of war were already gathering fast on the international political horizon. The first days of September found us in this remote part of India, on a visit to the French possession of Mahé. On learning that World War II had started, we immediately packed and left, returning to Madras where we sought a passage home.

OOO After waiting some time, we were told that we might embark on a ship of the Danish East Asiatic Company in Colombo. We proceeded there in all haste, but were kept waiting sufficiently long in the Sinhalese capital to be able to visit the place and gather some anthropological information of value. We resolved to return here as soon as the war was over, should we survive it.

I spent the next eight years in the Greek Army. I was demobilized in 1947, and immediately took steps to resume my anthropological work. I was able to do this at the beginning of 1949, when my wife and I arrived back in Ceylon by air in the February of that year. This time I had the leisure and means to study Sinhalese polyandry and, after obtaining the necessary information, as I have said, put up our camp in the interior, in the Kandyan region of Ratnapura.

K 114 We remained here until April, and then moved to Cochin in south-west India. A short spell of work in Ernakulam and the surrounding country, including Travancore, yielded interesting data. But very soon, T [114] the temperature became excessive, and conditions of work insupportable, so that we drove up to the Nilgiris for the summer, resuming my investigations of Toda polyandry which I had left off ten years before. We stayed in Ootacamund from the beginning of May until the end of September, 1949.

In the autumn, we returned to Malabar, this time to Shoranur, in the Walluvanad taluk of the southern part of the district, as this appeared to be the best area in which to study polyandry in what was soon to become the State of Kerala. We were there until December of the same year, and got to know the people living all around us quite well.

While in Malabar, I did not only visit the polyandrous communities. I was desirous of getting acquainted with the other inhabitants of the country, on the principle that the elements of a society are interrelated and evolve in connection with each other. I also attended a Nambudri Brahmin wedding, visited a Nambudri *mana* (the name by which the

233 the Toda themselves, have separate ritual categories. Some herds are
771 kept in very sacred dairies and are handled by the most highly purified
[793] priests (*palol*). The milking of the sacred buffaloes and the preparation
[234] of the various milk products are also relegated to the special
[552] priests. All the buffaloes have human names.

The most important ritual institution is the "sacred dairy," which
234 is a temple (*palli*). Entrance or even approach to the temple is severely
778 restricted and in the highest "dairies" there is a division between the
especially sacred inner chamber where a sacred cowbell (*mani*) and
the various milk-churning utensils are kept and the outer chamber
which holds the utensils in which milk products are given to ordinary
people. The division between the sacred and the ordinary is so fundamental
that when the *palol* drinks water his right hand, used in churning,
may not come near his mouth: he pours the water from the right
to the left and drinks it from the left hand. The *palli* is in certain
778 respects the model for the ordinary dwelling, where again a division
342 between the sacred inner chamber and the ordinary women's quarters
is maintained. In the inner chamber, the men handle milk products;
[272] in the outer chamber the women prepare grain for food. Milk is so
[562] sacred, according to Rivers, that women are not allowed to cook with
it. The household, too, has a sacred bell like the "dairy"—so that,
just as the model human society is applied to the buffaloes, the
model of the sacred temples is carried over to ordinary dwellings.

621 In terms of social organization, Rivers observes that they have a
territorial organization into *mad* (hamlets), which he deliberately calls
"patrilineal clans." They are patrilineal only in the sense that the
851 child belongs to the *mad* of his *pater*. Paternity is fixed in the much-celebrated
bow-and-arrow ritual which takes place before the birth of
the child and, as Rivers observes, has important similarities to the
tali-tying ceremony of the matrilineal Nayar. The ceremony gives a
public answer to the question, "Whose bow shot the arrow?"

It is important to fix paternity, because sexual and marital relations
[83] are almost entirely free from restraints, and all kinds of polyandry,
[583] polygyny, wife exchange, and so on are permitted. Without the "public"
[595] statement of paternity, the *mad* position of the child could be
uncertain. On the other hand, Rivers also makes it quite clear that the
(611) Todas are not interested in retaining patrilineal genealogies as such.

611 The question of matrilineal descent is raised quite specifically by
114 Rivers both as it pertains to human beings and as it pertains to the
sacred buffalo. He rejects it in both cases, though it would have been
useful for his arguments to have found it with the Todas: "The Toda
show few traces of mother-right. . . . If the duties of the man towards
his sister's son among the Todas be a relic of mother-right, there can

4: Yalman E-4,5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese
Toda AW60

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be little doubt that this condition must have been very remote" 114
(Rivers, 1906, p. 547).

How, then, does Emeneau discover matrilineal clans? To answer 114
this question, let us consider the marriage rules. First, the terminology: 601
it is not reproduced here, but there is agreement among all writers 582
that it is of the usual Dravidian type and identical in structure to those we have described for Ceylon. As Emeneau notes, it turns around the proposition that "spouse = cross-cousin." Hence the MB is also father-in-law and FZH, and so on. Again, it is quite clear that all marriages must take place between the persons in the categories of *matchuni* (cross-cousins). Both Rivers and Emeneau note that mistakes occur and that they are disapproved of; and Emeneau provides important examples of how the kinship terminology must be altered after a mistake has taken place.

Even though there are mistakes, the correct union is the marriage of 114
matchuni. Rivers (1906) states the rule unequivocally: "While mar- 582
riage with the daughter of a father's brother and a mother's sister is
prohibited, the daughter of a father's sister or a mother's brother is
the natural wife of a man" (p. 512). The clearest recognition of the 582
rule is to be seen in the funeral ceremonies of an unmarried girl. Like 588
the Nambudiri Brahman in Malabar, the Toda do not risk letting 764
women out of their control unmarried. The system must be closed and hence the girl even in death must be firmly married. In the final funereal and tragic bow-and-arrow ritual, "the husband always stands in the relation of matchuni to the wife" (p. 514).

The position seems to us clear enough, but Rivers does not always 114
follow his own logic. He goes astray in trying to translate the matter 582
into English: "While marriages between *matchuni* are the rule and marriages between the children of *matchuni* [1] certainly not unlawful, we have seen that marriage with the child of a *matchuni* [2] is prohibited. From our point of view, this means that while marriage with a first cousin is orthodox, marriage with a first cousin once removed is unlawful, while again it seems that marriage with a first cousin twice removed may be lawful" (1906, p. 513; my numerals).

We need hardly point out that in these categorical systems persons in situation (1) are again directly *matchuni* to each other, whereas those in situation (2) are in the position of son or daughter. Rivers' ethnography is so detailed that the basic pattern comes through very clearly, even though many further questions may be raised. Emeneau has much greater difficulty. He seems to think simply in terms of exogamy. The patrilineal clan is "exogamous." What, then, of the chil-
dren of the sisters of the mother? It is here that he reifies the [614]
puliol into a matrilineal "sib": "One of the *functions* of the matri-

114 lineal sib has appeared in this discussion of the *kinship terminology.*
582 The *primary function* was shown . . . to be that of *regulating mar-*
614 *riage;* no Toda may marry a person who is a co-member of a matrilineal sib" (Emeneau, 1941, p. 167; my italics).

114 Note also how the terminology operates: " . . even when the
601 lines of a pedigree have been lost to memory the correct terminology
614 based on the lost pedigree is maintained. Each male and female born to the sib is addressed with the appropriate term by every other member of the sib, and persons related by marriage to and descent from the sib members are also addressed with the appropriate terms" (p. 165).

[171] It is clear that the terminology is operating in the same way as the categories of marriage we have seen in Ceylon, but even though this is a particularly impressive use of language in channeling social behavior, Emeneau wants to link the prohibitions to "exogamy" of one kind or another.

114 The entire case turns around the use of an admittedly difficult key
602 word, *puliol.* Rivers is quite specific about the use of this term. To
614 him it implies certain "prohibited relations": (1) FBD, (2) MZD, (3) FZ, ZD, (4) FFZD (1906, p. 509), and he notes in an important passage p. 509): ". . . if a man thought of a given woman, he thought of her as one, or not one of his puliol, and it seemed to me in several cases as if it came almost as a new idea to some of the Todas that his puliol included all the people of his own clan."

It is a compliment to River's perceptiveness as an ethnographer that he has here detected a subtle matter which gives a good indication to the kin structure of the Toda. He is not really mistaken; it is just
[582] that the Toda do not think of the *mad* as exogamous, just as the Sin-
[171] halese simply do not think in terms of exogomy, but of prohibited and enjoined "categories."

To Emeneau this passage merely means that Rivers mistakenly includes the clansmen in the puliol who are only the matri-sib members. In trying to fit the recalcitrant facts into his argument he gives many examples which indicate that he has misunderstood this classificatory system:

> [Rivers' fourth category (above)] . . . the daughters of the sisters of his father's father gave him trouble because of the two cases of marriage to such persons found in the genealogies. *The truth is that such marriages are not forbidden.* The sisters of a man's paternal grandfather are not poljo:l to him, but urd mort kva:dvoj; they cannot have married his urd mort kva:dvoj; and their daughters will not be related to him in any prohibited way. The rule given that a person must not marry the child of his . . . matchuni, i.e., cross-cousin . . . is incorrect. His cross-cousin may have married a man of

his own mod, in which case the daughter will be forbidden to him, [otherwise] there are no objections. (Emeneau, 1937, p. 105) 114 602 614

Emeneau's examples are clear enough. In fact, he also provides internal and conclusive evidence that the Toda disagree with him. About the use of the term *puliol* he says, in a later work (1941, p. 171): "Dare we read in the interpretation that the woman and her daughter belonged to one matrilineal sib and this branch of it is now going to fail, so that the woman feels shame before the matrilineal sib on that account? The Todas certainly seem not to interpret in this way." And, he goes on, "we feel that the püliol (Rivers' spelling) relation between mother and daughter is perhaps is point, though the Todas do not make such an interpretation and the context is decidedly against it." In fact, the Toda merely say that *puliol* includes all the relatives without reference to matri-sib.

The matter is not really very complicated. Emeneau comes surprisingly near but entirely misses the point. He notes (1937, p. 106) that the semantics of the word *puliol* means "man of the puli or palli," but, saying that "will not explain our word," he goes off in an entirely different direction trying to find exogamous "houses." In fact, the semantics are quite eloquent: *puliol* are the people who are sacred like the *palli* (dairy)—that is, no "entrance" is permitted.[3] They are precisely all the prohibited categories of kin; hence the term appears to stand opposed to *paiol* or "affines." Rivers does not juxtapose the two but makes the meaning of *paiol* abundantly clear in his treatment of Toda funerals (e.g., 1906, p. 358). The *paiol* (pp. 450, 459) are precisely the persons such as MB (or father-in-law), cross-cousins, ZS (or son-in-law) whom Dumont (1957*b*) has singled out as "affines." 114 602 196

Hence we see in the Toda case that Dumont's highly interesting structural juxtaposition of "kin vs. affine" is noted and culturally recognized by the Toda themselves in the opposition of *puliol* or *paliol* vs. *paiol*, or kin/affine. 114 602

It seems clear that what Rivers wrote in 1906 accords well with some of the best recent analyses of South Indian kin structures. Whatever we finally arrive at as the real meaning of the term *puliol*, we

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[3] Prince Peter of Greece in a very interesting paper also notes these semantics and links the *puliol* with prohibited categories of kin which he describes, following Emeneau, as "matrilineal sibs." Yet the line of argument from the prohibition of sexual relations between children suckled by one mother to "matrilineal sib" is by no means clear. The Sinhalese, too, have similar ideas on milk kinship" (see above, p. 139) without corporate matrilineages. The evidence for "sibs" such as names which connote obscenity, joking, and simple myths seems curiously meager. This case, too, really rests on the sexual prohibitions which, as we have argued, permit interpretations of a nonlineal kind. I came across this material too late to incorporate it into the chapter. See Peter, Prince of Greece (1951). [614]

114 602 cannot assume that wherever we have marriage prohibitions we must also find exogamous lineages.

[171] In fact, on the basis of Rivers' evidence, the Toda can be established as a particular instance of the general structure described for Ceylon. The crucial indices are present: (1) Cross-cousin categories associated with the systematic Dravidian terminology and marriage rules; and (2) the formally recognized rights and obligations between (MB-ZS) (FZ-BD) and between cross-cousins of either type. The tabulation of Toda requirements will establish them as using the same general structure described above.

MB-ZS	F-S
ZS named by MB (Rivers, 1906, p. 332) (BD named by FZ p. 332)	Handburning (p. 315)
Hair cutting and naming by MB (p. 333)	Bow-and-arrow ritual (pp. 319 f.) before birth to establish paternity
Ear-piercing by MB (p. 334)	Uncover boy's face (p. 331)
Funeral: ZS to supply buffalo; for child MB (also S-in-L)	F chief mourner at funeral
Name of MB and F-in-L tabooed to ZS (and S-in-L) (p. 494)	S chief fourner at funeral
ZS gives cord tied around corpse of MB	Cutting of lock of hair at funeral by "son, brother, or father"
Special ceremonial exchanges at funeral	

Matchuni (Cross-cousins)	Brothers
Important role in funerals (p. 499)	No special ceremonial obligations outstanding
Special ceremonial acts while eating together, crossing rivers, etc.	
Special role of male *matchuni* at funeral of female *matchuni*	
Male and female *matchuni* proper sexual mates	

171 582 601 602 The similarities between the Toda kin structure and the Kandyan Sinhalese go far beyond the superficial. Emeneau rightly observed, for instance, that "these fundamental rules [i.e., the prohibitions inherent in the terminology] govern not only marriage but also all sexual relationships" (1937, p. 104). The same is, of course, true of the Kandyans. It is because the rules of mating are clearly established that the actual connection between the husband and wife can be extremely tenuous. And since paternity is legally and publicly established at the bow-